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MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND REPORTED; REACTION NOTED

'Drastically Needed Measures'

AU142007 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 81

[BTA observer Krasimir Krumov's commentary]

[Text] The State Council of the Polish People's Republic has adopted an exceptionally important decision: Martial law has been declared in the country and a Military Council for National Salvation has been created. The application of drastically needed measures in accordance with the constitution of the Polish People's Repubic has begun. The decision was imposed by the dangerous public-political development in Poland since 1980 and the even more dangerous consequences expected in the near future. The recent events proved to every soberly thinking man that the antisocialist and counterreolutionary forces among the Solidarity leaders have no intention of conducting a dialogue with the PZPR on leading Poland out of the [passage indistinct] they tried to take over the government in Poland. Thus they expected to liquidate the socialist social system, which guarantees the national independence of the Polish People's Republic. They expected to liquidate the international alliances of socialist Poland, situated in the heart of Europe, an important military and political factor on our continent, and to violate the balance of forces between East and West.

If the Solidarity extremists had had the opportunity to implement the decisions made at their conference in Radom, on organizing mass demonstrations in Warsaw and other cities, the Polish People's Republic would have been pushed toward a fratricidal war. This would have had very heavy consequences in the present exacerbated international situation. The decision of the State Council was aimed at putting an end to the dangerous development of the situation in the Polish People's Republic, and creating the preconditions for gradually normalizing life. This is being evaluated as the only opportunity, under the present conditions, of liquidating the anarchy and effectively opposing the overt attack of the counterrevolution.

The alarm with which certain Western circles are now reacting to the measures against the antisocialist forces in the Polish People's Republic is an alarm prompted by their plans to divert the Polish People's Republic from the historic road which it began 37 years ago.

It is no secret that the Solidarity leaders enjoyed exceptionally generous help from abroad. This help represented interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. These were attempts to draw the Polish People's Republic away from the socialist community and the Warsaw Pact.

The Bulgarian public realize that difficult days await the Polish people. This is time when the feelings of responsibility and the political sense of every citizen are subjected to a severe test. Tasks of overwhelming importance are to be solved, and this demands the total mobilization of the nation's creative energy and the cooperation of all patriotic forces to whom socialist Poland is dear, as well as a normal atmosphere and diligent work. Our country greeted the words of Wojciech Jaruzelski with great satisfaction. He said: We want a strong Poland. Strong in its achievements, culture, forms of public life and place in Europe. The only road towards this goal is socialism, approved by the entire society and constantly enriched by life. Such a Poland will be constructed by us. Such a Polandwill be defended by us.

Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed in his address to the Polish people that Poland is and will be an indestructible link in the Warsaw Pact and a loyal member of the socialist community.

The Bulgarian people have always cherished a deep feeling of fraternal friendship toward their ally, the Polish people. They will further stand firmly on the side of the Polish people in their struggle for the defense of the socialist achievements and in their efforts to secure a peaceful and happy socialist present and future in Poland.

'Indignation Is Great'

AU121558 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Dec 81 p 6

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Angel Bonev report from Warsaw: "Who Is Creating an Atmosphere of fear?"]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Dec -- The television camera is focused on a group of female workers from the Warsaw "Rosa Luxemburg" plant. During the interview they are asked: "How did you feel after the meeting of the 'Solidarity' leaders in Radom?" They just answered: "Fear." Then they explain their feelings as follows: "The sharp words spoken by Rulewski and Jurczyk were by no means a surprise for us. We were expecting them. What amazed us was Lech Walesa's statement, because he seemed to be a sensible and self-controlled man in the past. Our indignation is great."

We have heart the opinions of numerous Polish people these days and similiar statements were often pronounced on the subject of Walesa. "From the extremists we expect everything, but Lech Walesa's words came as a surprise to us." A surprise, indeed? Let us just recall what Lech Walesa said at the "Solidarity" congress 2 months ago. ("The struggle is just beginning, we are heading for the decisive battle," is what he said.) Even in those days sober-minded voices warned: Those who think that the "Solidarity" leadership will give up the method of strikes and conflicts are deluding themselves. The entire process of development up to the present moment shows that counterrevolution, concealed behind the "Solidarity" trade union, is consistently heading toward a serious confrontation.

The political atmosphere is becoming increasingly tense and tension is growing from day to day. As commentators here in Warsaw are pointing out: "Hysteria and an utter lack of sense of responsibility" are prevailing in certain "Solidarity" circles. There is more than one example of this. As was recently announced, "Solidarity" leaders in the Wielkopolska-Poznan area have given special instructions to their plant committees that secret reserve leading bodies should be established, that traffic signs, plates with street names and street numbers on buildings should be exchanged in secret. The "Solidarity" leadership in the Olsztyn area is beginning to accumulate stocks of first-aid supplies. It was decided to elect a reserve leadership instructed to take action in case the present one should be arrested.

Specific measures are being adopted in certain areas of the country in this connection. It became known that the "Solidarity" aktiv in the Mazowsze area established a so-called "Polish People's Representative Organ," which includes trade union leaders and representatives of illegal political groups. Their task is to prepare for elections to the Sejm behind the backs of the authorities. It is envisaged that, after the results of such elections have been announced, a "provisional government of people's trust (narodno doverie)" would be established.

A special organ bearing the innocent name of "Exchange Center" has been attached to the leadership of the Silesia-Dabrowa basin area. At the moment of a so-called "acting" strike, this center is supposed to take over the total production of state-owned enterprises and to distribute the goods. "Specialists" are already being selected for this center, which is expected to be set up in Gliwice.

At the same time preparations are already in progress for the occupation of various public buildings. Members of the private peasants "Solidarity" union are also involved in this action. In Szczecin, for example, it is expected to occupy the headquarters of the United Peasants Party along with other public buildings. In case the authorities should adopt measures in this respect, the buildings of the PZPR Voivodship Committee as well as those of the radio and television stations are also supposed to be occupied. Posters stating "Death to the Communists" and "To Destroy the Party Is Our National Program!" can be seen on walls throughout the city.

Special groups have been dispatched to numerous mines in the Silesian basin these days.

They are entrusted with the organization of meetings and are launching slogans about "elections to people's councils" which are supposed to put an end to the present government system. Appeals are read demanding that those who have ruled the country since August 1980 should be prosecuted.

It is quite understandable why common people in Poland are filled with anxiety and with a sense of insecurity, and we know where to find the source of such feelings. It is understandable why Polish people are afraid of their immediate future. Even "Solidarity" members are aware of the fact that they are, willy-nilly, involved in a game which may have extremely dangerous consequences for themselves and for Poland in general.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION CONCLUDES 11 DEC

Plan Covers Agricultural Expansion

AU111646 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia 11 Dec (BTA) -- The draft plan for the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria in the eighth five-year period (1981-1985) provides for a rhythmical supply of the people with foodstuffs round the year according to norms approved by the five-year plan, for an increase of the foreign currency resources of the country and for higher effectivity and self-support of the branch. This assessment was made by Mr Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union, in his speech at the session of the Bulgarian National Assembly, at which the draft plan for the five-year period is discussed.

The draft of the five-year plan of agriculture and the food industry is developed on the basis of a fuller use of the intensive factors of production, of an accelerated introduction of the achievements of the techno-scientific progress and the leading knowhow in practice. Effectivity of production is envisaged to be raised considerably. Net product in agriculture will increase by 31 percent, profit by nearly three times, public labour efficiency by 43.7 percent, and the prime cost per 100 leva of general production will drop with 8.75 leva, chiefly at the expense of material expenditures. In the food industry net production will increase by 51.4 percent, profit by 91.7 percent, public labour efficiency by 56.3 percent. The exports of both branches will go up by 19.6 percent.

Machinery is envisaged to be increased in number in Bulgarian agriculture, especially the high-performance sowing and harvesting equipment.

Mr Aleksandur Petkov stressed that the tasks set to the branch are realistic, judging from the many years of successful existence of the agro-industrial complexes and the food industry combined works.

He pointed out that in the branch insufficient efforts have been made for the transfer of the economic approach and the improvement of the working team organization of labour in practice. That is why in the current five-year period it will be the primary task to do away with these faults and put all the economic units on the principle of self-support, as well as to link payments with the final results of production.

The head of the National Agro-Industrial Union emphasized that the past year has shown unambiguously that the optimum planned and well organized working teams are the very medium in which the principles of the economic approach can be applied most directly to the full. That is why, without campaigning, the working teams of the new type are envisaged to cover 100 percent of the grain and fodder production in 1982 and by the end of 1984 there will have been organized working teams in vegetable growing farms of a new type, in perennial plantations and cattle-breeding.

The work of bringing the technological lines on stream with the achievements of the technological progress was also reported as insufficient.

The developments made in this field show that if the capital investments in mechanization of harvesting of the autumn crops, clover, and maize are concentrated, profits over 220 million leva will be ensured in one year, at investments to the tune of 150 million leva for the equipment.

Mr A. Petkov said that the task set now is to obtain from 500,000 to 600,000 tons of grain above the state quotas in the result of the stepped intensification of grain production, and to bring this extra output to the tune of 1 million ton in the following years.

The economic mechanism in agriculture creates conditions for a broader self-initiative and tapping of the reserves. That is why with their counterplans the agro-industrial complexes and the other agricultural organizations ensure conditions for expanded reproduction, self-financing and self-support. This is the basic criterion for us when adopting the counter-plans, underlined Mr Aleksandur Petkov.

He said that the draft plan is a document which is profoundly grounded scientifically, which strictly observes the Leninist principles of management, which realistically ensures the raising of the living standard of the people and the all-round implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Takov: Plan Meets Social Needs

AU111705 Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA) -- "In spite of the fact that due to certain considerations the development rates of the economy determined by the 12th Congress of the BCP have to be lowered, the indices characterizing the living standard of the people have remained as determined by the congress," underlined Mr Peko Takov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and vice-president of the State Council, at the National Assembly session today.

This shows, he went on further, how considerable are the possibilities of the Bulgarian economy for ensuring a steady and consistent climb of the living standard of the people in spite of the unfavorable international conditions.

Mr Peko Takov pointed out that the plan fixes firmly the boundaries for solving the tasks in the social sector.

He dwelt on the necessity of untapping the extra resources to ensure the population's supply with goods and services.

The speaker emphasized that capital investments will be channelled out with priority into housing, water supply, health care, children's establishments, education and culture. But, added he, it is exceptionally important to have these investments realized in the eighth five-year period.

"The sound economic basis of our social policy outlined by the indices of the eighth five-year period, shows the exceptional stability of our development which leads to a permanent improvement of the conditions of work and life of the people," said Mr Peko Takov.

Deputies Back Unified Plan

AU111717 Sofia BTA in English 1512 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA) -- All the thirteen deputies who took the floor at the National Assembly session until now, backed the drafts of the plan for the eighth five year period, for 1982 and of the state budget.

Along with this, they also made a number of concrete proposals for their improvement.

Mr Mako Dakov, vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences noted that the plan provides for enormous for the dimensions of this country sums for preserving the environment, but maximum efforts should be made for their spending and efficient utilization.

In his statement Mr Khristo Ruskov, chairman of the Union of Anglers and Sportsmen, pointed out that the means for the industrial transfer of wasteless and small waste technologies provided for in the plan are insufficient. He maintains that there are possibilities for 84 more wasteless and small-waste technologies to be industrially transferred, which will result in utilizing 15 million tons of wastes more, in an additional production to the amount of 236 million leva and in savings of 43 million leva for the national economy.

Mrs Leda Mileva, chairman of the Union of Translators, pointed to the place of prominence given in the unified plan to the development of all the branches of the intellectual sphere.

The deputies of the Varna and Burgas Counties dwelt on some tasks to be resolved in these regions during the eighth five-year period.

Trade Unions Support Plan

AU111606 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA) -- "The Bulgarian trade unions express their full support for the draft-plan for 1982 and the eighth five-year period," said today the chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Petur Dyulgerov.

It corresponds to the vital interests of the workers ensures a complex and harmonious development of the economy and guarantees a stable and lasting prospect for social development.

The drafting of the plan, said Mr Dyulgerov, was placed on a broad social basis and created conditions for the trade unions to become co-authors of the proposed draft.

He said that the trade union accepts the indices of the plan as a bottom limit and a minimum task. They think that there exist possibilities for ensuring an average annual rise of pure production of two or three points over the state tasks, a rise of labour efficiency by three of four points, a lessening of the spending of fuel, raw and other materials by two or three points, a rise in the profit of one milliard leva, and an additional manufacture of goods for the population of 500 million leva.

The placing of counter-plan drafting on a broad social foundation is a primary task for all, said Mr Petur Dyulgerov.

"The ambition of the Bulgarian trade unions is to act as a motive power in the drafting of counter plans and to make a high contribution to the socioeconomic development of the country to a major extent," stressed the speaker.

The trade unions, he went on, are aware of their great responsibility and role in organizing a nationwide movement for a most rational utilization of every drop of liquid fuel, of every gram of raw and other materials.

Mr Petur Dyulgerov dwelt also in the necessity of creating optimum conditions for the release of labour resources from the material production and the management and for their re-orientation towards the sphere of the services.

State Budget Approved

AU112025 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA) -- Today the National Assembly approved the 1982 state budget.

The sum of the receipts is 15,824.5 million leva, and of the expenses - 15,809.5 million leva. Receipts exceed the expenses by 15 million leva.

10,611.5 million leva will enter the receipts from the profit and other income from the socialist economy.

7,811.7 million leva are fixed for financing the national economy.

5,586.7 million leva are fixed for the needs of social and cultural undertakings - education, science, culture, health care and social insurance.

299.5 million leva are allotted for supporting the state power, the state management, the courts and the prosecutor's office.

Development Plan Approved

AU112026 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA) -- Today the National Assembly approved the plan for Bulgaria's socio-economic development in 1982.

As compared to 1981, it provides for a 3.6 per cent increase of the national income, a 3.5 per cent increase of labour efficiency, 7.5 per cent of the profit, 4.5 per cent of the volume of industrial output and 2.2 per cent - of the farm output.

The volume of capital investments will amount to 7,215 million leva.

The foreign trade will increase by 4 per cent as against 1981.

The real incomes per capita of the population will be rocketed up by 3 per cent, and the public consumption capital - by 3.5 per cent.

The volume of retail trade will rise by 3.8 per cent and of the services for the population - by 8.4 per cent.

72,600 new dwellings are planned to be built in 1982.

Session Ends

AU111648 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] The fourth session of the Eighth National Assembly just ended. A 1982 plan for the work of the National Assembly was adopted. The National Assembly deputies also unanimously adopted the bills on the plan during the five-year period, the 1982 plan and the 1982 state budget.

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, closed the session. He called on the National Assembly deputies to actively contribute to explaining and implementing the laws adopted by the National Assembly as well as to fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan on the socioeconomic development of the country.

YORDANOV-LED DELEGATION LEAVES FOR INDIA, JAPAN

AU132008 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] A delegation led by Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed for India and Japan on 13 December. It will take part in the celebrations marking Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary.

POLISH STATE COUNCIL DECLARES STATE OF EMERGENCY

Martial Law Declared 13 Dec

LD131048 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense, announced in a radio broadcast this morning that, in view of the anarchy in Poland and of the irresponsible actions of the extremist forces in the so-called Solidarity which are openly trying to seize power, the State Council of the Polish People's Republic has declared a state of emergency [vyjimecny stav] as from 0000 on 13 December.

A Military Council of National Salvation has been set up and plenipotentiary military commissars nominated who have the authority to supervise the activities of the organs of state administration, from ministries right down to rank-and-file citizens. These commissars have the right to strip officials who do not fulfill their duties of their leading functions.

It has been decided to intern the extremist leaders of Solidarity, as well as the members of illegal antisocialist organizations. Also interned are a group of people responsible for the social, political and economic crisis in Poland. They include Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Zdislaw Grudzien, Jan Szydlak and others.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the party and government are consistently striving to set up a front of national accord and to unite all the patriotic forces of the people in the interest of the salvation of Poland. He appealed for public order throughout all of Poland so that the national economy could start functioning normally and so that trust and respect for the state organs of power might be renewed.

Wojciech Jaruzelski has appealed for cohesion in the PZPR, the leading force in society which is striving consistently for the strengthening and further construction of socialism in Poland. He stressed that the Polish people highly respect the friendship and fraternal help of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and that Poland will remain an inseparable link in the socialist community.

Polish Moves Explained

LD131720 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Operating under the cover of Washington and NATO circles Polish counterrevolutionaries have been seeking to liquidate legislative and executive powers in the country. That is why it was necessary for the Polish authorities to launch a decisive counterattack against these elements. It was announced in Warsaw on Sunday morning that the Polish State Council has declared a state of emergency in the country. A Military Council of National Salvation has been set up and military commissars have been appointed to control the activities of all state administrative bodies ranging from ministries to administrative units in villages. It was decided to intern extremist leaders of the Solidarity organization as well as members of illegal antisocialist organizations. A group of people responsible for the socioeconomic and political crisis in Poland was also interned.

In a radio broadcast Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, said that the party and government are consistently striving for the formation of a front of national agreement and for the unification of the country's all patriotic forces [as heard] in defense of Poland. He called for the restoration of law and order in the country and for the normal running of the national economy, as well as for the restoration of confidence in and respect for the state authorities.

Polish Public's 'Reactions'

LD132032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Correspondent Frantisek Sojka report from Poland]

[Text] Since midnight last night a state of emergency, proclaimed by the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, has been in operation in Poland. A temporary body, the Military Council of National Salvation, has been set up, replacing the constitutional bodies. Its task is to establish calm and restore order in Poland and save the country from a total collapse and counterrevolution. The military council is headed by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski. [Words indistinct] as well as in the proclamation made by the council, it was stated that the state of emergency was declared because of the activity of extremist and counterrevolutionary forces and the dangerous policy of the Solidarity leadership aimed at carrying out a coup and taking over power. The Polish radio and television, too, acquainted the public with the proclamation issued by the Military Council of National Salvation and drew attention to the possibility that further measures might be initiated to prevent anarchy and antistate activity.

The radio and television, on their first programs only, are broadcasting news on the situation in Poland and serious music. Armored cars and patrols of the Polish People's Army and the security services have taken up positions in certain streets and outside important buildings in Warsaw. As I travelled along the streets of the Polish capital, both this morning and this afternoon, calm prevailed in Warsaw.

A ban on assemblies, too, has been proclaimed. A strict notice has been served to the effect that it is imperative that instructions given by the council are observed.

The counterrevolutionary forces from Solidarity have so far merely issued leaflets calling for action against the emergency measures. The Warsaw branch of Solidarity is preparing to proclaim a strike for tomorrow. Groups of people have gathered around its headquarters, some of them eager to receive instructions for antisocialist activity while others are there merely out of curiosity. According to reactions received by this evening it would appear that part of the public has received today's measures with satisfaction.

Commentary Praises Measures

LD132304 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] For a long time now our public has been following with great attention but also with concern the developments in Poland, not only because it is one of the countries of our socialist community but also because it is our neighbor, a country with which we have always been linked by historical ties and often by a similar historical fate. Not only communists but all our citizens are aware of the fateful role played by the Pilsudski fascist government before World War II. We are linked by thousands of ties with Poland today, and they multiply the historical ties. We have extensive political, economic and cultural relations, common frontiers and common international interests. Each of our citizens is aware of the far-reaching importance for our security of the alliance with Poland in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. And there is no doubt that to wrench Poland from the defensive system of the socialist community would disrupt the military-strategic balance in Europe and that this could prove conclusive in the present extremely sharp situation. It could incite wild adventurers of the imperialist camp, who have already managed to push the world into a very sharp dangerous situation, into embarking on imprudent fateful actions.

In these circumstances, the report on the proclamation of the state of emergency in Poland, despite the dramatic contents of this fact itself, has a calming effect. This resolute approach of the Polish leadership, in the given complex and catastrophical situation, is the only possible solution, the only way to stop the drive of the counterrevolution and avert the danger which threatens the very existence of the Polish state. It is the only way to frustrate imperialism's dangerous preamble with the fate of Poland and the irresponsible attempts to destroy the cohesion of the community of Warsaw Treaty countries.

The vigor and resoluteness with which the leadership of the party and the state is now advancing against the enemies of socialism in Poland evokes both respect and trust. It strengthens hopes and certainty for the future of socialist Poland. The expectations and convictions of our public, expressed in many party and state documents, that Polish patriots will be able to solve the existing problems, to wreck the plots of the counter-revolution and that they will defend socialism by their own forces, are thus being fulfilled.

The fact that the government, with its resolute action against the counterrevolution, is turning not only to all citizens loyal to socialism but is giving a chance also to those who let themselves be fooled by the demogogical hypocrisy of the enemies of Poland, shows that these forces have a very broad base, a firm support and clear self-confidence.

A country which for such a long time, in such a well-thought out and coordinated way and with a mass contribution from abroad, [word indistinct] and damaged politically, economically, legally and morally cannot be revived by a single action. Even the most skillful surgical operation requires a long convalescence, care, help and understanding.

In these dramatic days which Poland is experiencing, there is value and importance in each demonstration of understanding and each manifestation of socialist solidarity. This is not only a matter for those who regard socialist internationalist solidarity as their priority duty in the name of ideals in which they believe; it is also a question of purely human solidarity, stemming not only from the general human feelings which is in the character of our people, but also the solidarity stemming from the common fates and interests of both neighboring countries which are members of the socialist community.

The struggle for socialism in Poland is entering a decisive stage. For socialism, as (Josef Hampl), hero of socialist labor, said in our bulletin, it is necessary to fight; socialism has to be defended and asserted. Many people in Poland are beginning to understand this. The decisions of the Polish party and state leadership are therefore not only of a national character and do not concern only the Polish nation but are a struggle with broad international implications in which the security of our continent is also at stake. Thus it does not allow any indifference. In the given situation this is only a way to save Poland before economic and political bankruptcy ensues, and the only way to preserve European stability. It is the only way to maintain the continuity of socialist development and peace. The solidarity with Polish patriots loyal to socialism, loyal to our alliance, loyal to the historical efforts for detente and peace is therefore the most natural manifestation of our own citizens' awareness -- a feeling of responsibility for peace and socialism. It is a manifestation of true Czechoslovak patriotism.

Army Control Explained

LD132018 Prague CTK in English 1914 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Dec (CTK) -- Asking whether the state of emergency really had to be declared and the Military Council of National Salvation had to be set up in Poland, the Polish news agency PAP said in a commentary today yes, they had, although a short time ago the Poles still believed they would be able to reverse the development tending to national tragedy and destruction of the state.

"Solidarity" was promising to act in harmony with the Polish Constitution saying it respected Poland's alliances, would not weaken the interests of the state system and would help improve the life of the Polish people. Reality, clearer day by day, thwarted these promises, divided the nation and the society. Anarchy, chaos and hopelessness increasingly took hold of the country. It was necessary to prevent confrontation. The possibility of early overcoming the state of emergency depends on the ability to forestall conflicts, on how fast everyone of us will start working in his sphere, the news agency said.

It added that the supreme responsibility is now assumed by the army. Polish soldiers have always faithfully served their homeland. Experiences from our history prove that they never disappointed their nation, the PAP concluded.

Troops Suppress Strikes

LD140956 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Members of the army have prevented attempts at organizing strikes in some 10 Polish factories, but without the use of force.

According to some reports Miroslaw Krupinski, a deputy to the head of the so-called Solidarity, Lech Walesa, has called for a general strike in retaliation for the state of emergency.

RUDE PRAVO Applauds Actions

LD140950 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] 'RUDE PRAVO' and other dailies carry lengthy reports on the developments in Poland. They acquaint their readers with the speech delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense, over Warsaw radio on Sunday morning and with the proclamation made the Military Council of National Salvation informing the Polish public about its role.

The latest events in the Polish People's Republic are the subject of a RUDE PRAVO commentary entitled "The Time of a Difficult Test." It stresses that the patriotic forces in Polish society, headed by the communists, have made a resolute stand in defense of socialism. The proclamation of a state of emergency in the country was made necessary by the internal political developments in Poland over the past months and weeks. The reactionary subversive organizations, nurtured by their hatred of communist ideas of freedom, equality and social justice and hoping to reverse the social order in the country, have openly set before themselves the aim of overthrowing the government, taking over power and changing the social structure of Poland and luquidating socialism.

The leaders of Solidarity have been deliberately undermining the national economy and provoking strikes and conflicts. Their slogan has been "the worse things are the better for us," and they have been dragging the Polish people towards the edge of the precipice of the economic collapse of society. They have even been speculating with the danger that the country could starve.

As the RUDE PRAVO commentary goes on to say, Polish patriots, all reasonably thinking and honest citizens, became more and more vocal over the past few weeks in their opposition to the policies and actions of Solidarity. More and more frequently and clearly, the longing was being expressed within the nation for a way out of the crisis, for the calm necessary to encourage creative and consciencious work, which constitutes the only way of overcoming the accumulated problems.

The Polish citizen, an ordinary working man, was losing confidence in what should be basic certainties. His ordinary daily life was subject to the license and arbitrariness of antisocialist elements, black marketeers, the kings of the black market, and suffered as a result of the enormous growth of criminality and violence.

The establishment of public order and the securing of the essential needs of the population is thus the very aim of the measures adopted by the State Council to be carried out by the Military Council of National Salvation.

The RUDE PRAVO commentary goes on to say that the Polish communists, in united front with the patriotic forces within the country and conscious of their profound responsibility to the defense of socialism in the world, have been taking the necessary and required measures. They have our sympathies and can rely on our all-round support.

The RUDE PRAVO commentary, recalls the words of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, delivered at the 16th congress of our party, words which at this very moment are of a special significance and of a truly topical validity, that the CPCZ and the people of our country, like the people of other countries of the Warsaw Treaty organization, support the communists, working class, working people and all true supporters of socialism, genuine Polish patriots, in their effort to ward off the attack by reaction, resolve the accumulated problems and strenthen the socialist social system.

Situation at Warsaw Factory

LD150932 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2020 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Here now are some shots from the Tarchomin Polfa pharmaceutical plant in Warsaw. A Polish television reporter interviews the factory's production manager (Andrzeu Zypanski). [Begin (Andrzej Zypanski) recording] Most of the workers in the factory are members of Solidarity, and the state of emergency decree makes it clear that Solidarity's property is being transferred to the administration of the factory management. In accordance with the provisions of the decree, all the necessary measures have been taken. This means that the property has been officially confiscated -- the property of both trade union organizations -- we have two trade union organizations here. Their premises have been sealed so the whole matter is quite clear and there are no problems here. [end recording]

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL 'INTERROGATED' ON ENTRY

LD142206 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpt] The public has received the state of emergency declaration [in Poland] as an inevitable step -- but not without fears that the worst has yet to happen. Those of you who tonight watched a Czechoslovak television program could see with your own eyes one of the Solidarity leaders, Andrzej Kolodziej, who had been staying illegally on Czechoslovak territory and who -- during interrogations -- responded with shocking indifference to the question: How would you accept it if Solidarity's threats were carried out and communists were hanged -- namely your own father who has been a party member since 1955? Kolodziej just shrugged his shoulders and said: That's his business. He added cynically: If he deserves it?

As long as there are people in Solidarity like this Kolodziej who would not mind seeing even his own father on the gallows the Polish public will await with anxiety the next day's events. Kolodziej, who held an important post in the leadership of Solidarity, has made a shocking statement.

One cannot but ask another question: How is this compatible with religious and church morals? Let us remember all those discussions by the leadership of Solidarity with church representatives. Kolodziej's statement shows just how much the religious tradition of the Poles is misused. The behavior of some Solidarity members after the state of emergency declaration in Poland, those who even today call for a strike and for a confrontation -- such as in the Katowice foundry, in Krakow or in Gdansk -- fully justifies the anxiety felt by the majority of Polish citizens.

POLISH EVENTS ANALYZED BEFORE MARTIAL LAW ENACTED

Solidarity Meeting 12 Dec

LD122202 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Text] A meeting of the national Solidarity leadership was held in Gdansk today. Frantisek Sojka, our correspondent in Warsaw, reports on the meeting:

[Begin recording] Walesa's claim that the conclusions of the recent session of the leaders in Radom and their speeches have been misunderstood is contradicted by the present session in Gdansk. Individual leaders continue their attacks on the socialist system. The role of the PZPR, the Sejm and the government are being depreciated. Confrontation can be averted only by unconditional compliance with all Solidarity demands. This seems to be the case, among other things, (?thanks to) the so-called council for national economy, basically some kind of interim government, the early elections and Solidarity's access to the mass media.

Some speakers in the debate threatened to strike against radio and television and interrupt boradcasting. Rulewski said that confrontation has been taking place for a long time and demanded the acceleration of elections to the Sejm. He called the Polish Government an occupying force [okupant] of his own nation. The leader from Lodz demanded approval to call a strike in five voivodships. Jaworski from Warsaw said it is necessary to organize militant storm troops.

The counterrevolutionary goals of Solidarity are illustrated by the demand that the Confederation for an Independent Poland, an illegal, openly anticommunist and anti-socialist organization, be represented in the so-called front of national agreement. [end recording]

TASS Commentary Reported

LD111651 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (CTK) -- Counter-revolutionary forces in Poland are widening the front of overt struggle against the United Workers' Party, the government and socialism, the Soviet news agency TASS said in a commentary today.

"Solidarity" leaders have called a strike alert in many voivodships, many universities are in the throes of strikes, and "Rural Solidarity" organizes ever new actions of pressure on the bodies of power.

Quoting the Polish television, TASS said that leading officials of local organizations of "Solidarity" have begun forming "combat groups" each comprising 250 to 300 people, and theft of weapons and explosives from state stores has been discovered. Members of the ill-famed "Confederation of Independent Poland" have appeared in the streets of Polish towns with symbols of the "Armija Krajowa" which used to wage an armed struggle against the creation of a popular democratic system in Poland.

TASS went on to say that clerical circles and organizations have clearly activated themselves. The number of sermons aimed at discrediting government actions in defence of socialism is increasing at churches.

There are ever stronger attacks on Poland's bonds of alliance. Demagogic demands are made for its withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and for the use of communications across Polish territory for pressure on Poland's allies. Some provocateurs cast doubt on the present Soviet-Polish borders and slander the liberation of Poland by the Soviet Army from the Hitlerite occupiers. The Soviet people are logically indignant at all this.

The critical situation caused by the excesses of counterrevolution forces the Polish bodies of power to take additional measures to defend the constitutional foundations of the state, the Soviet news agency continued. Protection is given especially to the buildings of state and party offices. Meetings of many voivodship committees of the United Workers' Party and party organizations stress that counter-revolutionary forces have shown their intentions and strive to change thepresent social system in Poland. Resolutions draw attention to the need to defend the successes of People's Poland and to thwart the plans of the enemies of socialism, TASS concluded.

TU, Church Seek Confrontation

LD111940 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Discussing the situation in Poland, Radio Prague's Stefan Babiak says that nobody can have any doubt today that the antisocialist forces concentrated around the so-called Solidarity union are out to seize power. In their efforts to achieve this goal they have chosen destruction of the country's economy and political life, they resort to discrediting the government and thus also the United Workers' Party. At the extreme right wing of the antisocialist grouping there are organizations of the type of the so-called Confederation of Free Poland. To counterbalance this main course taken by Poland's counterrevolution, Solidarity is trying to assume the role of a positive factor. Solidarity bosses, including Walesa, are eagerly trying to convince the public that not Solidarity but Poland's Government is interested in confrontation. But in actual fact right now Solidarity is highly active behind the scenes to exert pressure against legislation vesting special power in the government. According to Solidarity such legislation is to be replaced by a trade unions bill which would curb the activities of the government and place it into the position of a passive factor, unable to overcome Poland's present crisis.

To complete the image of these political forces, we should mention the role of the church. Poland's Catholic Church has not only assumed the role of a protector of Solidarity but also of a factor inspiring a policy of subversion and destruction. Church leader Glemp's letter to deputies of Poland's parliament, blatantly interfering in matters of the state, has confirmed this. And the list of exponents of the antisocialist campaign in Poland would be incomplete without mentioning their protectors in the West. The events of the past few days have shown that this entire machinery is on the move. Apparently all its forces are getting ready for striking against Poland's state organs. After repelling this concentrated attack, those against whom it is aimed must act with no less energy than those who are about to act as gravediggers of socialism in Poland.

Solidarity Objectives Viewed

LD112050 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Warsaw correspondent Frantisek Sojka commentary]

[Text] The counterrevolutionary statement issued in Radom, on which the extremists from the regional bodies of Solidarity have begun to act almost immediately, has encountered increasing opposition and provoked alarm among all right-thinking Poles.

Reports that groups numbering dozens, hundreds and even thousands of people are being organized according to a well prepared plan and exactly in accordance with the example set previously by the Bandera [Stepan Bandera was a leader of the Ukrainian Uprising Army 1943-44] bands, the stocking of food and medicine, instructions to be implemented in case a general strike is called or special measures invoked, the election of shadow bodies and the like, are far too unequivocal for anyone still to nurture any illusions about the real objectives of Solidarity.

In any case, these objectives were revealed in all their nakedness by Walesa himself when he described the existing talks with the government as a futile game and said that a confrontation was invevitable.

Militant groups of Solidarity members have also set out to attempt to liquidate party organizations in factories. Strikes, strike alerts and the occupation of state and public buildings are continuing. More than 30 unlawful antisocialist, anticommunist and nationalistic organizations and political parties have been set up. Preparations continue for an unlawful referendum and elections, from which the so-called provisional government would emerge, naturally without representatives from the existing political parties. Solidarity is doing everything possible to block measures and steps taken by the government aimed at stabilizing the economy. Unrest is being fomented at mines and among farmers. A total of 42,000 paid officials are in a virtually continuous state of alert. These people constitute the moving force in the current hateful propaganda campaign waged against the party and government. Millions of zloty are spent of leaflets, posters and paint and on organizing well paid bill-posters, who move from one place to another to emblazon on the walls of buildings in various towns slogans alleging the greatest undertaking of the Polish working people.

However, working people are beginning to wonder -- and not because of the Radom meeting alone -- what indeed does Solidarity regard as more important: the gaining of control over radio and television or improved supplies, the liquidation of the party works organizations or the halting of the catastrophic decline in production? The party committee in the Praga north municipal district of Warsaw has adopted a resolution which says, among other things, that the counterrevolutionary forces in Solidarity have come out with an obvious attack on the party and socialism and that the party initiative aimed at bringing about national accord is being abused by the enemeies of socialism in order to liquidate it. Party members from this Warsaw municipal district call for the application of political and legal means to ensure the establishment of peace and order. In this connection it is worthwhile to recall the recent letter sent by Archbishop Glemp, the head of the Polish Church, to the Seum deputies, in which he attempted, in an unprecedented manner, to influence the deputues to reject outright the proposal made at the PZPR's Central Committee Sixth Plenum to give the government special powers. The fact that Solidarity has the church as its adviser and patron has been apparent for a long time. What is startling, however, is the fact that at a time when the counterrevolutionary forces are revealing their true face and the policy of Solidarity is provoking an every greater dilemma and mistrust, the church should have hastened to take Solidarity under its protection. This is surely an unprecedented responsibility for the current state of affairs in Poland and is thus becoming more and more apparent.

Radom Meeting Was Not 'Chance'

AU101447 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 81 p 7

[Commentary by Milan Jelinek in the Column "We Comment": "The Program of the Counterrevolution"]

[Text] The "Solidarity" leadership's Radom session -- the Polish and world public recently had occasion to acquaint itself with its contents -- cannot be regarded as merely a mass of antisocialist, anticommunist outpourings, like the usual hateful skreeches usually pouring, with increasing intensity, from such and similar deliberations of this organization.

The "Solidarity" Radom session is substantially more significant, menacing and alarming. Its bosses have proclaimed the beginning of preparations for the final attack on the positions of people's power. Their speeches at the session constitute the program of the counterrevolution.

In Radom they formulated the goal -- the takeover of power in Poland and the overthrow of the people's government -- and simultaneously the means for attaining it -- confrontation with the socialist system in the country, in other words the fight, the battle, the use of violence.

The statement made by Lech Walesa, "Solidarity" chairman, was particularly telling. He opened his heart, he tore off his last mask and frankly declared what "Solidarity" had been concerned with from the very beginning, the reason why it was set up at all, and the kind of pivotal goal it wants to attain. He declared: "The confrontation is unavoidable. There is no doubt that it will occur." He revealed the tactical plan of the organization's subversive activity. According to him, "Solidarity" has always counted on an open clash with the government, on an attack against socialism in Poland; its entire activity to date has been aimed toward this. It was to have launched the attack only at the most propitious moment, when its strength would be greatest; and then, as Walesa said, "We will overthrow even the Sejm and the People's Councils." But suddenly Walesa changed his opinion. He sped up the planned course. "It is becoming obvious that such tactics would bring us no further. We are choosing the path of a lightning maneuver...." he said in Radom.

In fact, in recent weeks the situation has been gradually changing in "Solidarity's" disfavor; and its bosses are therefore in a hurry. For some time, reports have been coming in from Poland, saying that the criticism of the "Solidarity" leadership is growing. The people are thinking things over and expressing displeasure with the course it is taking; an increasing number of accusing fingers are being raised against "Solidarity," blaming it for intentionally worsening the economic situation in the country and condemning the policy of disruption, of the "strike craze," of approaching the rim of the abyss of an economic and social catastrophe. To a certain extent, "Solidarity" is losing its positions; it is being tossed about by strife, conflicts and the mutual intrigues among its functionaries. And this is also why the political group that is ruling the organization is now striving to take the decisive step -- and to take it while there is still time, while it still has the necessary influence and means at its disposal.

The individual speeches in Radom specified the method of the counterrevolutionary onslaught: Deliver a blow to the voivodship state bodies. The "Solidarity" representatives should heckle these bodies, resort to provocations, and compromise all basic components of the state administration "at any price," as one of the bosses declared, while simultaneously expanding the "Solidarity" apparatus, which should occupy posts in the state administration and already this day take over some of its rights and jurisdictions, and also some of its activities.

The organization should speedily start building up its own "storm troop detachments," armed with helmets and truncheons which the local "Solidarity" branches in certain Polish regions have at their disposal. It should attempt to seize control over the most significant mass communications media, and do this with a final validity. This task is to be seen after by Bujak, chief of the Warsaw "Solidarity," who declared that he would use storm troops with truncheons for "liberating the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs." At the same time, this militant reactionary (even in the past he urged strikes in the defense industry, meaning the incapacitation of this industry) suggested that a so-called social economic council be set up -- "a kind of provisional national government." He developed the idea of Lech Walesa, who shouted in Radom: "No fronts of national accord....only 'Solidarity' will decide on things!"

Thus the counterrevolutionary program has been written down and proclaimed. Now the main thing will be whether the "Solidarity" representatives succeed in realizing it. The latest information from Poland says that the public, all sensible people, honest patriots and communists, have received it with deep concern. They realize the danger; in many places protests are heard, and the results of "Solidarity's" Radom session are being indignantly condemned. In fact, even the "price" had been assessed in Radom, the price to be paid by the Polish people for "Solidarity's" counterrevolutionary action, the toll to be paid by them....

For instance, last week the "Solidarity" bosses' counterrevolutionary activity was condemned by more than 600 PZPR plant organizations in Warsaw during their meeting with Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. In the debate the participants in this meeting demanded a greater offense on the part of all party bodies and organizations, and pointed out the need for firm consistency in realizing PZPR Central Committee resolutions. Tadeusz Grabski, a well-known Polish state and party figure, condemned the "Solidarity" leadership's destructive activity in his interview with the newspaper RZECZYWISTOSC. "Now resolute action is needed to stop all strikes and demonstrations. It is imperative to make use of the law for liquidating activity against the state and its bodies," Comrade Grabski stated.

It is impossible not to see that the reactionary antisocialist forces, which had so far not encountered any serious or emphatic resistance on the part of the government and state bodies, are making use of the present moment in the endeavor to merge into a compact stream and to set this stream in a certain direction. The Radom session was no chance action; it did not surprisingly ferment out of a tempestuous situation. It had been prepared. The "Solidarity" leadership has uncompromisingly proclaimed the slogan: Let's see who will win!

BILAK, MSZMP'S GYENES NOTE POLISH EVENTS 14 DEC

LD141826 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with Andras Gyenes, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, in Bratislava today. In the course of a cordial and comradely discussion they informed each other about the elaboration and implementation of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 12th MSZMP Congress. They exchanged views on questions of the further development of mutual Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation.

In assessing foreign-political questions they noted that in view of the present worsened international situation it is of primary importance to strengthen the unity of the entire socialist community and its close connection with the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces who endeavor to strengthen peace and security in Europe and the world.

They expressed full support for the new stimulating proposals of the Soviet Union aimed at achieving significant progress in improving the international atmosphere, halting the feverish armament, and the further development of equal and fruitful cooperation between nations.

They expressed their support for strengthening the cohesion and close cooperation between communist and workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Comrades Vasil Bilak and Andras Gyenes stressed that the two parties welcome the adoption of concrete measures by the PZPR and the [Polish] Government, headed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers. The two parties expressed their full solidarity with all forces in Poland fighting in defense of socialism against counterrevolutionary forces.

Comrade Andras Gyenes left for Hungary today.

RUDE PRAVO VIEWS SCHMIDT-HONECKER MEETING

LD111018 Prague CTK in English 0819 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 11 Dec (CTK) -- The leading officials of the two German states are meeting in a complex international situation, strongly influenced by the NATO decision to install new U.S. missiles in Western Europe in which the Bonn government was greatly involved, the daily RUDE PRAVO commented toda-.

Political dialogue between states is of extraordinary importance in the present international situation. This was proved by the recent visit of Leonid Brezhnev to West Germany which reflects the Soviet endeavour to consistently put into life the principles of peaceful co-existence and counter the danger of nuclear war. Also, the GDR, as a firm link of the socialist community, pursues peace policy, the paper wrote.

The GDR is a sovereign, independent socialist state. This is anchored also in the 1972 treaty on the normalization of relations between the GDR and West Germany. If West Germany recognizes this verbally, it should confirm it by finally recognizing and respecting the state border between the two countries, recognizing the GDR citizenship and changing the permanent representations of the two countries to embassies, the daily emphasized.

Further normalization of relations between the GDR and West Germany might play a positive role in overcoming the present sharpened situation in Europe, RUDE PRAVO concluded.

USSR-U.S. COOPERATION IN NUCLEAR RESEARCH VIEWED

AU101707 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Michal Strida in column "Science and Research": "Prominent Worksite of Soviet Science; Dubna -- Experimental and Developmental Workshop of Materialism"]

[Excerpt] Theory Versus Practice

It is a pity that perhaps the least utilized field which participation in the work of the Dubna Nuclear Research Institute near Moscow opens to our science and national economy is precisely the field of immediate utilization of the peripheral findings of basic research directly in practice. While a number of experts from various industrial sectors or from the sphere pertaining to the utilization and application of computer technology from other socialist countries are annually arriving at Dubna, some practical results, accomplished perhaps directly by our scientific workers, remain unexploited.

A sad example of that could, perhaps, be the special filtration foil which can be very advantageously manufactured with the U 400 accelerator in considerable quantity (several hundred thousand square meters annually). In essence, they are very perfect filters, in which fission particles punch very small, absolutely identical holes. The size of the holes can be regulated according to need up to the smallest diameter of 0.03 microns, so that such a filter will reliably catch all bacteria. By the way, we need such filters in some facilities manufacturing microelectronic components, in which cleanliness must be scrupulously observed, and they also could be used in the health sector, in places where one has to work in a microbe-free environment.

Bridges of Cooperation

A number of scientific workers from the capitalist countries have always worked in Dubna. Equally, regardless of nationality and at the expense of the institute, scientific workers of the Nuclear Research Institute are being sent to nuclear research centers in the West.

A.M. Baldin, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and director of the high energy laboratory--one of the largest worksites at the Nuclear Research Institute -- with whom I spoke about cooperation between Soviet and American scientists, stressed that neither during the war in Vietnam nor even today, when American scientists, succumbing to the pressure of the Carter or the new U.S. administration, unilaterally limited or completely severed the promisingly developing cooperation with Soviet worksites in some fields, have the contacts in the sphere of nuclear research ever been broken off. The cost and extent of basic research into the composition of matter are so great today that no single country in the world is able to carry it out or ensure it. Therefore, for example, the first experiment at the newly built accelerator in Batavia (USA) was carried out by Soviet scientists, and American scientists are already today planning experiments to be carried out at the gigantic accelerator under construction in Serpuchov, which will have a 6-km diameter and the circumference of its ring will have the unbelievable length of almost 20 km.

Thus economics and logic -- the logic of peaceful cooperation -- in the sphere of basic research create bridges for cooperation among countries with different social systems in other sectors of economic and cultural life also.

1982 TRADE AGREEMENT WITH USSR SIGNED IN MOSCOW

LD112216 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 11 Dec (CTK) -- A protocol on the exchange of goods between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for 1982 was signed here Friday by Foreign Trade Ministers Bohumil Urban and Nikolay Patolichev at the end of discussions between Czechoslovak and Soviet Government delegations.

The volume of the exchange of goods between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union will reach 9,000 million roubles in 1982, i.e. some 10 per cent more than this year.

Specialization and cooperation of production between the two countries will expand above all in engineering in 1982, and the expansion will contribute to acceleration of technological development in various branches of the two countries' national economies.

The Soviet Union will supply Czechoslovakia with various machines, transport means, industrial equipment and apparatus, and will continue to export the basic raw materials, including oil, natural gas, black coal, electric energy and products necessary for further development of Czechoslovakia's national economy.

Czechoslovakia will export to the Soviet Union above all machines, equipment, transport means and apparatus, and will continue its traditional supplies of consumer goods.

The discussions took place in an atmosphere of friendship, comradely and mutual understanding, and creative cooperation.

STROUGAL RECEIVES USSR CIVIL AVIATION MINISTER

LD142324 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 14 Dec (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here Monday Soviet Minister of Civil Aviation Boris Bugayev, who is on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

In their discussion of the main tasks of the Czechoslovak and Soviet economies in 1981-1985, the two officials appreciated the importance and results achieved in promoting cooperation in the air industry. In this connection, they evaluated questions related to the perspective objectives and deepening of cooperation in this important sector of the national economy.

HUSAK GREETS USSR-CSSR FRIENDSHIP CONFERENCE

AU121833 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Dec 81 p 1

[CTK report: "Message of Greetings"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- Gustave Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, has sent a message of greetings to the participants in the Fifth All-Union Conference of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society held in Moscow. In the message he valued the meritorious work of the society in strengthening friendly relations between our fraternal countries and their nations. He emphasized that the mutual comradely aid and multilateral contacts between the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society and the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society in many spheres of social life as well as the broad development of friendly relations are a significant contribution to getting to know the life and the cultural wealth of the nations of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, that they enable the exchange of experience among collectives of the working people and contribute to the fulfillment of our common goals in building socialism and communism.

TV CITES CEAUSESCU ON ROMANIA'S SHORTCOMINGS

LD111502 Prague Domest[illegible]elevision Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 9 Dec 81

[From the "24 Hours" program]

[Text] The address delivered by Nicolae Ceausescu at the joint session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development was characterized by critical observations concerning certain problems of the Romanian economy. He stated in his address that a number of serious shortcomings, problems and mistakes have been felt in the economy's energy and raw material basis. It was necessary to carry out a reorganization of the relevant ministries and, within this reorganization, to make some cadre changes even at the ministerial level. The production of grain has reached approximately 20 million tons and next year it is to increase to 24 to 23 [as heard] million tons. In order to achieve this goal it is necessary to eliminate immediately all shortcomings encountered in agriculture and in the work of the responsible ministry. The fulfillment of the plan of foreign trade is of priority importance but even in this sphere the planned tasks are not being fulfilled.

Nicolae Ceausescu further stated: It is necessary to endeavor with more determination to broaden trade exchange and cooperation with the CEMA member-countries. In the period 1981-1985 we anticipate a pronounced increase in the total volume of trade with these countries. I think, however, that the Romanian representatives to the council are not fully observing their duties and tasks and do not try sufficiently to seek possibilities for broadening cooperation and jointly solving the problems of the economies of the individual CEMA countries.

Nicolae Ceausescu said that the problems which have arisen in Romania's trade-economic balance have been influenced above all by the difficult economic situation in the world. This year some foreign firms canceled agreements or even requested a postponement in the realization of entire agreements. These difficulties are also influenced by the considerably high interest which exceeds even the repayments of debts.

To add to the above words, here is a REUTER report: Western circles estimate the indebtedness of Romania at $10 billion. Out of this Romania owes about a half to trade creditors and the rest is a subsidized loan from the World Bank and the IMF.

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH ROMANIA SIGNED IN PRAGUE

AU121747 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Text] A protocol on goods exchanges and payments for 1982 was signed in Prague between Romania and the CSSR that envisages a further increase in mutual goods deliveries compared with this year's volume of trade exchanges.

Romania will deliver to the CSSR, among other things, machine tools, electrical equipment, computers, hydraulic diesel engines, metallurgical and oil installations, automobiles, various agricultural machines and consumer goods.

In turn, the CSSR will export to our country machine tools, metallurgical and energy installations, machines for the leather and shoe industry, textile machines, computers, diesel engines, automobiles, coking coal, metallurgical coke, chemical products and consumer goods.

ETHIOPIAN MINISTER DEPARTS; AGREEMENT SIGNED

Departure 10 Dec

LD101628 Prague CTK in English 1553 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Prague 10 Dec (CTK) -- Ethiopian Foreign Trade Minister Chekol Wollie left here Thursday after attending the first session of the Intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Ethiopian Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation and Trade.

During his stay in Czechoslovakia, he was received by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek for talks on bilateral economic and commercial issues.

Trade, Cooperation Protocols

AU121841 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Dec 81 p 2

[CTK report on column "International Contacts"]

[Text] A trade protocol and a protocol on cooperation in the construction of the Malka Wakana hydroelectric powerplant were signed at the end of the first session of the Czechoslovak-Ethiopian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in Prague on Wednesday. The appropriate documents were signed by Ministers of Foreign Trade Bohumil Urban and Chekol Wollie. Berhanu Jember, socialist Ethiopia's ambassador to the CSSR, was present at the signing.

POLISARIO DELEGATION ENDS OFFICIAL VISIT 11 DEC

LD111916 Prague CTK in English 1141 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 11 Dec (CTK) -- A delegation of the Polisario [Popular Front for the Liberation of Western Sahara] front, led by the organization's deputy general secretary, Bashir Mustafa as-Sayyid ended Friday its four-day official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovakia.

The war waged against the people of Western Sahara, who strive for the freedom and independence of their country, is inspired by imperialism, especially of the United States, Ahmad Khalil, a leading Polisario functionary told CETEKA during the visit.

"Since Ronald Reagan entered the White House U.S. support to our enemies has become quite open, and all cloaks veiling the U.S. attitude to the Moroccan expansion against our country have been discarded," Ahmed Khalil stated. He added that the U.S. is not only supplying Morocco with arms of strategic significance, especially aircraft, tanks and reconnaissance equipment, but also directly threatening those states which support the just struggle of the people of Western Sahara. "The United States started to interfere more openly in our affairs especially after we repulsed the enemy forces and liberated 90 per cent of our territory. The U.S. administration intervened when our freedom and independence were already within our reach, Ahmad Khalil added.

He underlined the solidarity expressed by the progressive forces of the whole world, including the public of the socialist countries, to the struggle of the people of Western Sahara and pointed out that this solidarity increased since the Reagan adminstration has openly committed itself against the Western Sahara people. "Our struggle is very difficult in the present stage since the enemy is attacking us with latest American weaponry. The fighting is waged in the desert, i.e. in the country without mountains and forests, so that our armed liberation forces are confronted with powerful military weaponry and must defend themselves against a much greater strength. However, we realize that we are part of the great world struggle against imperialism, and that we are not alone in our struggle, Ahmad Khalil said.

NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS IN FOREIGN TRADE NOTED

AU122055 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Dec 81 p 3

[Joint article by Engineers Ladislaw Kubik, assistant professor and candidate of sciences; Jaroslav Nikl, professor and doctor of sciences; Jar Nykrynk professor and doctor of sciences; and Jiri Safar, assistant professor and candidate of sciences: "Reserves of Our Economy; Improvement of Production-Foreign Trade Relations Is Not Only a National Concern"]

[Summary] Although it is generally acknowledged that relations between production and foreign trade must be improved, the practical steps in this direction are either ineffective or solved in a one-sided and incomplete way. The unsatisfactory mutual collaboration is also due, among other things, to a belated realization that, in relation to our predominant partners -- the CEMA countries -- the nature of intrastate supplier-consignee relations is becoming increasingly international. This is manifested "in the slow liquidation of parallel productions in individual member states" leading to a shortage, or else surplus, of certain goods; in the continued "existence of many suboptimal production facilities"; in "cooperation agreements which only rarely include the entire cycle research-development-production-use"; in the failure to make full use of international CEMA organizations, "which mostly lack an economic accountability [khozrasche] base"; in the "drain of certain supreme goods" produced by CEMA countries "to the capitalist markets, in the effort to acquire 'hard' currency" for the balance of payments; and in the "unsatisfactory level of coordination" in the CEMA countries, trade activities on the third markets.

Such problems prove that it is high time to "gradually deepen the international socialist collaboration also in devising national supplier-consignee relations," since these relations seriously influence the functioning of the CEMA countries' economies.

As the first step to be taken, the responsibility for export results must be clearly defined; our production must be fully responsible for producing the best export funds, and our foreign trade organizations fully responsible for their best professional valorization in terms of prices. Second, the planning of foreign trade activities must be improved; production must have a perfectly worked-out, binding plan of export production; the specific contents of trade agreements with our CEMA partners and the expected spheres of interest of our partners in nonsocialist countries must be known and applied in planning, and so forth.

Third, we must make better use of objective prices abroad to make the domestic price system more objective and develop collective and individual incentives. Fourth, we must penalize the production and export of noneffective commodities and raise interest in producing and exporting effective ones. Fifth, we must adjust cooperation agreements between economic production units and foreign trade organizations to include the joint creation of long-term export-import concepts for specified territories; and introduce the joint assessment of investment plans in export production and of the priority of exports for achieving an economic balance in exports, a joint control of quality, and a joint evaluation of market and trend research. Sixth, the correct use of the USSR's and CEMA states' experience "must not signify a one-sided adoption of this experience for its own sake, often reduced to purely organizational adjustments and experiments," as the uninformed in our country are frequently calling for. "At the same time it would be incorrect to underrate this aspect of the problem. This is also underscored by the differences in the organization of the foreign trade's enterprise base" in the GDR, Hungary, Poland and other CEMA states.

"The Marxist-Leninist analysis of obstacles standing in the way of socialist integration should also provide an answer to the question, of whether the extreme variety and range (in the sense of different products) in individual countries is contributing to the joint courses of the CEMA countries in the sphere of the exchange of goods and services, in the sphere of production specialization and cooperation, in scientific-technical cooperation, in the development of direct contacts according to the intentions of the comprehensive program and other spheres that are vitally and strategically important for real socialism.

"For this sphere too, the demand that we should draw nearer to each other applies; but it does not mean identification." For instance, the following demands can be regarded specifically as our own "national" problems: the commodity lists of certain foreign trade organizations must be adjusted and certain commodities concentrated in one such organization so as to facilitate contacts with it on the part of foreign buyers and promote so-called parallel business contracts, in which our imports are used to promote our exports; the export and import of complete industrial plants must be concentrated in specialized foreign-trade organizations, equipped with appropriate engineering facilities and adhere to the principle of one main supplier; an independent speciaized entity must be set up for exporting "pure" construction and geology work on a business basis; and the list of certain CSSR financial participations abroad must be reviewed to make them more comprehensive.

The decisive thing in experimenting in the sphere of the enterprise base of foreign trade is not only the national criteria, but especially the unified interests of production and foreign trade and their ties with the interests of the socialist state and the CEMA community. The human factor in relations between production and foreign ttade is also becoming increasingly important. "Healthy businesslike attitudes in socialist business undertakings do not contradict adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles." The significance of the subjective factor is also increasing on an international scale; our economy factor is also increasing on an international scale; our economy still has considerable reverves in specific "interhuman" cooperation between our workers and those of the countries of the socialist community. An "international symposium of the representatives of practice and theory" from the CEMA countries could "clarify national and social paths and courses for complicated problems such as the relations between production and foreign trade surely are.

"We see the purpose of discussing these matters on an international level not only as the useful exhange of opinions, so necessary for practice, but also as possibilities to aid in this way also the consolidation of unity and economic independence of the socialist community in the world economy as well as to contribute toward the increasingly better functioning of economic mechanisms of the socialist integration and toward a greater intensification and effectiveness of this integration under the conditions of great and sudden transformations that are taking place in today's world, where international factors influence our way of thinking and acting far more than at any time in the past."

CPSL CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION HELD 14 DEC

Martinka Report

LD142102 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee is meeting in Bratislava today. It is discussing a report on the state plan for the economic and social development of the Slovak Socialist Republic next year, as well as a bill on the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The session is attended by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The deliberations were opened by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. The report on the state plan for the economic and social development of Slovakia next year and on the bill on the Seventh 5-Year Plan was presented by Karol Martinka, member of the CPSL Central Committee, Slovak vice premier and chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission.

He said the decisive factor for the future development of our socialist society under the complex conditions of the 1980's is a broad and concrete application of the line laid down by the congress, of substantial growth and intensification of the economy, higher efficiency and quality of all work. The bill on the Seventh 5-Year Plan was drafted against this background. In the interest of implementing the fundamental objectives of the party's economic and social policy it emphasizes the creation of conditions for the steady development of the economy, its intensification and dynamic balance.

The application of these targets requires a more intensive utilization of the domestic natural health, the better valorization of raw materials, materials and energy resources in the production process, the orientation and utilization of the resources created in ensuring the long-term stability of the Czechoslovak economy, restoring the balance of external economic relations and improving the structural harmony between supply and demand on the domestic market.

The plan for the coming years was orientated so as to alleviate the impact of restrictive factors on steady development by active measures and to take advantage of production factors while securing long-term intentions as regards quality which determines the intensification of economic development. This was pointed out by Comrade Karol Martinka in the report to today's session of the CPSL Central Committee.

Jakes, Lenart Address Meeting

LD150022 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpts] The CPSL Central Committee meeting continues. The first to speak was Comrade Ladislav Abraham. He gave details about the progress and results of the annual membership meetings and conferences of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement which showed that Slovak trade unionists fully understand and complexity and demands of our economic development and are determined to make an active contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks of the 16th congress. He pointed out that also heard at the annual mbetings were critical observations on shortcomings in management, on the need to improve the quality of supplier-consumer relations, and on the need to improve transportation, services, and supplies to the market.

In the afternoon the deliberations were chaired by Peter Colotka, CPCZ Presidium member and Slovak premier. In this part of the discussion, Comrade Jan Sulaj dealt with the endeavor of the all-enterprise committee of the party in the heavy engineering enterprise in Detva for the further development and improvement of the quality of the social and age composition of the membership basis and the fulfillment of the qualitative tasks of the state plan.

Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, then spoke. He said that the results achieved in Slovakia in the realization of the 16th congress program were, on the whole, positive. That, however, did not mean that problems, shortcomings and unutilized reserves did not exist. He underlined that we have an opportunity for a broad mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA member states. We also have a relatively developed material-technological basis of production and the great potential, skill, specialized knowledge and dexterity of the great majority of our workers, farmers, technicians and scientists. We could therefore say that despite all problems and shortcomings we have good prerequisities for the realization of the principal line of the party: to ensure the further development of the national economy and -- in line with the results achieved -- to maintain and improve living standards and strengthen the life securities of our people. The only way to achieve this is the development of the national economy and a higher national income obtained with the existing working, material and raw material resources. This was laid down also by the plan for 1983 and the bill on the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Comrade Jakes, in connection with the reduction of external resources for the development of the economy, underlined that it is inevitable to realize with great determination the program of fuel saving and the saving of energy and metals. We could not afford to use expensive imported or domestic raw materials for the production of goods which do not have the correct technological standards. Great responsibility belongs to our designers, technology experts, inventors and leading workers. In the next part of his contribution to the discussion, Comrade Jakes pointed out that the improvement of the quality of our work as a means to a better utilization of the basic funds and working time must be in the forefront of our attention. We could achieve better results only if we demand that everyone consistently carries out that for which he is paid, exercises his responsibility and fully uses the power given to him, so that the solving of problems is not unnecessarily passed onto the higher links of management. It is correct that the plan anticipates a faster development of the economy of Slovakia than the all-state average. Apart from agriculture, greater attention must be paid to the valorization of timber and some other domestic materials, and to stepping up development of the electronics industry and small-quantity chemistry. At the close of his address, Comrade Jakes, speaking on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Gustav Husak, expressed thanks for the work done by the CPSL Central committee, and the regional, district and primary organizations of the party, and wished them many successes in the fulfillment of their demanding tasks.

At the close of the session, an address was delivered by Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. He described the improvement of the management of economic processes through the utilization of science and technology, and the effective participation of the working people in solving problems as the key tasks of 1982. He underlined that the orientation toward a more pronounced progress in raising quality and effectivness should become the main contents of the forthcoming membership meetings of the primary organizations of the party. It is necessary that they adopt concrete measures -- specifically timed and accountable tasks ensuring the strategic line of the party. He underlined the great importance of the initiative, activity and personal example of every single member of the party, particularly its functionaries.

JAKES DISCUSSES ECONOMIC SHORTCOMINGS IN KVETY

LD112200 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 11 Dec (CTK) -- This year's balance-sheet shows that enterprises and branches make a different contribution to the Czechoslovak economy, Milos Jakes, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and Central Committee secretary, has said in an interview carried by the Czech illustrated weekly KVETY in its latest issue.

There are many examples of good work, but many enterprises are short of the plan, the development of the building industry is unfavorable, savings of energy and metals are insufficient, he added.

The demands for higher quality and effectiveness is not new and yet many engineering enterprises have not achieved the desired standard, and in agriculture too much is lost during the harvest, storage and uneconomic feeding. In addition to explanations, economic and other instruments must be used far more resolutely for those whose results are not good to bear the consequences of their own inability and hesitance. The atmosphere and manner of appreciation people must be changed and the main role in this respect must be played by managers at all levels, Milos Jakes said.

Some figures ensuing from deliberations of the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party must be modified in consequence of the deteriorating conditions, Milos Jakes continued.

It is particularly important to achieve bigger energy and raw material savings than set originally, to improve the unfavourable foreign currency balance-sheet, to tackle the disproportionately high energy consumption, and to make do with the bad harvest. It is impossible to waste material on outmoded products and to employ people in their manufacture, to spend means on the production of goods demanded neither at home or abroad.

This year's growth in the productivity of labour is lower than planned while wages are rising more quickly. "We do not want to limit the certainties resulting from the good work of people for socialism, on the contrary. However, all certainties and prospects can be developed only if they are based on real results," he stressed.

Milos Jakes went on to say that Czechoslovakia's per capita production is almost one ton of steel, almost eight tons of coal, over one cubic meter of timber, 4,750 kwh of power, almost 11 kilograms of artificial fibres and 58.5 kilograms of plastic materials. The problem rests in the fact that raw and other materials are not used economically. In addition, the use of fixed assets dropped by another 11 percent in the past five years and many important engineering plants operate to less 50 per cent of their capacity.

The possibilities of meeting the requirements of society are also influenced by the international political situation. "In the present conditions of a new round of the arms race, unleashed by the American administration, the socialist countries must maintain military balance not only in the interest of everything the working class and working people of our countries have created, but also in the interest of the defence of the human civilization as a whole. This is not gratuitous," Milos Jakes emphasized.

BRIEFS

GOLD MINING IN SLOVAKIA -- According to Jan Kuran, director of the Slovak Geological Institute, there still are deposits of gold ores in the Kremnica area whose gold content is not great, but, considering today's gold prices, worth extracting. A "base" for the surface mining of the ores, whose deposits have been estimated at 5,000 tons, is ready in Kremnica, Kuran said. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 10 Dec 81 p 1 AU]

MARTIAL LAW, LATEST EVENTS IN POLAND REPORTED

Jaruzelski Declares Martial Law

LD130658 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0537 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Dec (ADN) -- Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in an address just after 0500 GMT on Sunday morning, announced martial law in Poland. He said a Military Council of National Salvation had been set up.

Army General Jaruzelski said the measures adopted have become necessary because, in the present situation in which the country is confronted with a catastrophe, inaction would be a crime against the people. One can no longer stand by idly. It is necessary to tie the hands of the adventurers.

At the start of his radio address, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee emphasized that he was talking about the most important matter affecting the Poles. The deterioration of the situation concerns all Polish citizens. Army General Jaruzelski referred to the various forms of counterrevolutionary attacks in the country. Chaos and anarchy have led the country to catastrophe. Everything will have to be done in order to stop this development. Hence, relevant conclusions have been drawn.

Jaruzelski stressed that Polish communists oppose evil, we shall take steps against the counterrevolution and reestablish discipline. Army General Jaruzelski appealed to the soldiers of the Polish Army at their posts to do their duty. The Polish premier continued: We have to tackle our problems ourselves. We shall proceed with our reforms in a quiet and orderly manner and with discipline. Jaruzelski appealed to the Polish workers belonging to "Solidarity" to oppose the counterrevolution from inside "Solidarity." We are facing an extraordinarily difficult period. Therefore, calm is of the utmost importance.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee then said: We are a sovereign country and must solve our problems by means of our own strength. The People's Republic of Poland is a country in the heart of Europe, a fact to be constantly borne in mind. Poland has strong allies on her side, among them the Soviet Union. Poland is an unshakable part of the socialist community of states.

Addressing world public opinion, Premier Jaruzelski said that party and government have but one objective -- to stop the threat to the country. Poland is an exhausted country. We appeal to the Polish workers to end the strikes.

More Emergency Measures

LD131748 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Armed Forces Ensure Security in the Polish Capital -- ADN headline; by ADN correspondent Paul Weinreich]

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Dec (ADN) -- Since the declaration of the state of emergency, special militia units with protective shields and helmets, as well as armed soldiers of the Polish Army in battle fatigues have been patrolling the streets of the Polish capital. Airborne units and marines are guarding public buildings such as the Parliament, the seat of the Council of Ministers and the headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee. Tanks have taken up positions on the bridges across the River Vistula. Identity checks are being made in the streets. Telephone links have been interrupted in the capital and throughout the country. Warsaw Airport is closed. According to Warsaw Radio, filling stations have stopped selling gasoline to private individuals. A curfew from 2200 to 0600 has been introduced in Poland.

The statement by the chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and other orders and regulations on the state of emergency have been posted at many buildings.

Crowds have gathered in front of the posters. Polish television carried a recorded address by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski at midday. A spokesman in an army uniform read the proclamation of the Military Council for National Salvation and the statement by the chairman of the State Council. In the late afternoon a special edition of TRYBUNA LUDU appeared with the documents issued by the chairman of the State Council and the Military Council.

During the day several hundred supporters of Solidarity, whose activities have been banned by decree, gathered in front of the Mazowsze Regional Executive Headquarters of Solidarity. Officials distributed leaflets calling for an immediate general strike throughout Poland.

Walesa Reported Interned

LD132110 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2051 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Dec (ADN) -- At an international press conference in Warsaw tonight, government spokesman Jerzy Urban, the premier's adviser Captain Wieslaw Gornicki and representatives of the Interior and Foreign Ministries of the Polish People's Republic made statements on government measures. They referred to the reasons given by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and premier, for proclaiming a state of emergency and referred to Solidarity's openly proclaimed intention to overthrow the state power. Asked about the number of interned persons, Jerzy Urban said that he could give no information since these measures have not been concluded. Among the persons interned is Solidarity leader Walesa. [East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 2238 on 13 December transmits a correction to this item, deleting the previous sentence referring to Walesa's internment.]

Regarding questions on reporting news from the Polish People's Republic, it was said that the state of emergency also entails certain restrictions for foreign correspondents. On Monday the Interior Ministry will issue new accreditations for all correspondents. Correspondents have been confined to the area of the capital for the time being. Details will be given on Monday about possibilities of communications with foreign countries.

Political Meetings in Poland

LD130434 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0400 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Polish radio reported during the night that political meetings are taking place in enterprises throughout the country during which the workers are airing grievances and expressing their concern about the future of Poland. An appeal has been adopted at the (Batori) steelworks which asks the party to close its ranks firmly. The resolution states that the time has come for party resolutions to be implemented uncompromisingly. According to the radio, workers in Czestochowa enterprises object to the spreading anarchy in the country.

Such meetings are also taking place in numerous political and social organizations.

ADN Notes Support

LD141810 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 14 Dec (ADN) -- In accordance with the constitution, the necessary measures have been taken in the People's Republic of Poland to reestablish and consolidate law and order and to secure socialism. They reflect the determination of the communists and all true patriots of the People's Republic of Poland to defend their socialist fatherland against attacks by internal and external counterrevolution and lead it out of the crisis. The measures instituted are an internal affair of the People's Republic of Poland.

The address by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Poland, and the measures adopted by Poland's Military Council of National Salvation and by the State Council and Government of the People's Republic of Poland have the unreserved support of the GDR. The citizens of the GDR, the working class and all the workers who have followed the developments in Poland during the past year with great sympathy and concern, regard them as steps which had become unavoidable in order to protect socialist achievements and the further progress of the People's Republic of Poland.

Certain hopes and speculations, based on the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, of removing the socialist order in this country and breaking Poland away from the Warsaw Pact were and are built on sand. A stable, socialist Poland is an unalterable part of the post-war order in Europe. As member states of the Warsaw Pact, the GDR and People's Republic of Poland are firmly allied with each other. In these days which are decisive not only for socialist Poland, the people of the GDR reaffirm their firm solidarity with the fraternal Polish people, with all genuine communists and true patriots of Poland in their struggle to solve the tasks of consolidating socialist order and thus peace and security on the European Continent.

East Berlin TV Coverage

LD132214 Hamburg DPA in German 1922 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 13 Dec (DPA) -- The GDR Television news program "Topical Camera" carried a report on the imposed state of emergency in Poland as its second story after leading with a detailed report on Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to the GDR. A woman newsreader read out the statement of martial law proclaimed by Polish party leader Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and the formation of a Military Council of National Salvation. Afterwards GDR television showed pictures of Warsaw with tanks placed outside important government buildings and armed soldiers making identity checks.

KRENZ, TELLER PRESENT AWARDS TO BORDER TROOPS

AU071950 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on page 2 carries a 300-word ADN report entitled "High Awards to Border Troops: Egon Krenz and Guenther Teller Present Decorations," reporting that on Thursday the FDJ Central Council and the Society for Sports and Technology Central Presidium bestowed high awards on members of the GDR border troops. Those present also included "Lt Gen Gerhard Lorenz, chief of the Political Administration of the Border Troops."

TISCH COMMENTS AT FDGB EXECUTIVE MEETING NOTED

LD111808 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1245 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec (ADN) -- It is most important that, despite all differences of opinion, European trade union organizations work to revive the policy of detente and effective disarmament measures and be aware of the seriousness of the situation. This was stated by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Federal Executive Committee and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, on Friday at the close of the 15th session of the FDGB Federal Executive Committee. He was commenting on the Fourth European Trade Union Conference which ended in Geneva recently. Discussions by the GDR working people at election meetings or in everyday conversations are permeated by the question of how world peace can be maintained and secured, Harry Tisch said.

The continuation of the proven course of unity of economic and social policy in the GDR under the changed conditions of this decade demands a high economic growth rate. This can only be brought about by a significant rise in labor productivity and a substantially more favorable cost-benefit ratio.

'AUTHORIZED' ANNOUNCEMENT ON POLISH EVENTS 14 DEC

LD150918 Budapest MTI in English 0626 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 14 Dec (MTI) -- HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY MTI has been authorized to announce the following:

Leading bodies of the Hungarian People's Republic and Hungarian workers followed and heard with great attention and sympathy the resolution of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, the establishment of the Military Council of National Salvation and its measures, as well as the appeal delivered by Premier Wojciech Jaruselski for hindering counter-revolutionary endeavours, reinstituting legal law and order and safeguarding the achievements of socialism.

The constitutional decisions of the Polish governing bodies are the internal affairs of the Polish state. These measures are aimed at a socialist solution of the severe situation and the social and national advance of the country, and contribute to that Poland will remain to be a firm member-country of the Warsaw Treaty and a factor promoting stabilization in Europe in the future too.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian people believe that Polish communists, true Polish patriots, and the forces ready to act will barricade the path of counter-revolution and assure a socialist solution of the problems of the Polish society by their unity and active conduct. Even in these hard days of its history, the Polish people can rely upon the fraternal solidarity and active support of Hungarian communists and the whole Hungarian nation.

RADOM TAPES REVEAL SOLIDARITY'S NATURE

AU121620 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Dec 81 p 2

[Pal Gedeon article: "The Mask Has Fallen; The Radom Tapes"]

[Text] The tension, which is perilous in any case, has further sharpened in Poland in recent days. A declaration of Solidarity's National Presidium has, for all practical purposes, announced efforts by the organization to take over power and has rejected participation in the front of national accord initiated by the PZPR Central Committee.

Sensing the concern of public opinion, a Solidarity spokesman tried to play down the startling declaration, but facts remain facts, not so much in light of the declaration that has been made public, but by virtue of what has been said behind closed doors at the Presidium's deliberations. Needless to say, leading Solidarity organs regularly hold their meetings closed to the public, for the greater glory of the democratic principles they themselves have proclaimed, the "frank informing of the public."

However, they had bad luck this time, because there have been tape recordings made at the Presidium session, details of which have been published by the Polish radio and press. And the recordings unequivocally reveal the truth about Solidarity's proclaimed objectives and actual activity.

As is known, at its inception, the organization presented itself to the public as a "trade union that represents the interests of the working people." Barely more than a year ago, the Solidarity leadership declared: "Solidarity, which represents the interests of working people, wants to be a reliable partner of the government in reviving the country." Contrary to that, Walesa said at the Radom meeting: "It has been clear from the beginning that there will be a struggle. Only the tools must be chosen well...we must say that we love you, we love socialism and the party and, of course, we love the Soviet Union very much, while, at the same time, we must produce accomplished deeds....

"There will be a confrontation. In any case, what is important is only that we should not be taken by surprise."

And what does pluralism, which is frequently mentioned as the political banner of Solidarity, look like? Walesa's opinion is: "I am not interested in the members of the United Peasant Party, or Pax, or the Industrial Branch Trade Unions. I am for pluralism, but there is only our trade union when it comes to important matters."

As for the question of power, Jan Rulewski, head of the Bydgoszcz organization did not mince words: "It is not a government of national accord we must struggle for, but an interim government." In his opinion, that government should be a nonparty one. Rulewski also outlined an action program to disrupt public administration, stressing that voivodship authorities must be discredited at all costs. He added, by way of emphasis: "Peasants must be permitted to occupy any public building they want."

Jacek Kuron, a chief ideologist of the antisocialist forces, urged that Solidarity address an appeal to soldiers and policemen and call upon them to change sides.

Bujak, president of the Warsaw organization, Mazowsze, proposed deploying armed groups against radio and television, as a "first step." At the same time, he took a stand in favor of preparing a general strike.

One could continue, but that is enough, indeed, more than enough! It is quite obvious that the extremists setting the tone in Solidarity are not defending the working people's interests, not pursuing trade union objectives, but speculating on a social clash as soon as possible, a confrontation.

That goal is served by various preparatory measures of the organization. Let us note just a few of them:

Attempts are being made to oust party organizations from enterprises throughout the country; the formation of armed shock troops has been initiated; entirely unjustified occupation strikes are being repeatedly provoked at enterprises and institutes and on the land; and the leaflet campaign is intensifying, while aggressive acts are proliferating.

All that is justified by the authorities' evacuation of the firefighters' academy. But that is only a pretext. The scenario is a very simple one. Almost daily, incidents are being unleashed throughout the country that have nothing in common with trade union activity (such as occupying the firefighters' academy, keeping the dean in custody, organizing strikes to protect the authors and disseminators of antisocialist leaflets and so forth). And when the authorities take action, Solidarity leaders assume a pose of offended innocence, blame the authorities and, "in response," using the justified acts of internal security, make further new demands, which frequently have the character of an ultimatum, thereby deliberately increasing tension and accelerating their organizational and political preparations toward sparking off a confrontation.

Party and government leaders are displaying the utmost patience, even in this grave situation. They continue to insist on forming a front of national accord, but they have emphatically declared that there will be no bargaining with the enemies of socialism!

With the publication of the Radom tapes, Solidarity's tactics have been unmasked once and for all. The Polish working people can now judge in the light of these facts the disastrous path embarked on by those who want to lure the country into turmoil, chaos, anarchy and confrontation.

POLISH TRADE WORKGROUP MEETS IN BUDAPEST 8-11 DEC

AU142058 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Dec 81 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Talks on Domestic Trade With Poland"]

[Text] Headed by Deputy Ministers Karoly Molnar and Lucjan Jaskolski, the Hungarian-Polish workgroups for domestic trade held a session from 8 to 11 December in Budapest.

They reviewed the fulfillment of this year's tasks and signed an agreement on an assortment exchange in domestic trade and technical-scientific cooperation for next year.

PZPR STUDY DELEGATION ENDS 8-11 DEC VISIT

LD112206 Budapest MTI English 1754 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 11 Dec (MTI) -- A party workers' delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party, headed by Waclaw Kulczynski, deputy head of the Economics Department of the PUWP Central Committee, paid a visit to Hungary between December 8 and 11 at the invitation of the HSWP CC. In the course of its programmes in Budapest and in the country, the delegation studied the experience of home building and economy in Hungary.

The Polish guests were received by Laszlo Ballai, head of the Economics Department of the HSWP CC.

SOVIET AID TO POLAND CREDIT RELATIONS NOTED

LD111646 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] The USSR has provided aid, completely free of charge, to the tune of $4.5 billion to Poland since last summer. In an article dealing with Polish-Soviet economic relations, TRYBUNA LUDU stresses that Poland's purchases from the USSR have exceeded its deliveries to that country in the past 2 years. The Poles received a substantial proportion of the Soviet goods on credit and the fact that Soviet raw materials are cheaper than the world market price also has meant a great deal.

BUDAPEST CITES IZVESTIYA ON ALEKSEYEVA AFFAIR

LD121714 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Text] IZESTIYA, the USSR Government newspaper, has reported that a long drawn out emigration affair, which was dealt with in detail primarily in the Western press, has been settled. Liza Alekseyeva, the daughter in law of the physicist Sakharov, who is conducting opposition activities, has been given an exit visa, even though (?the matter was complicated by the fact) that the woman married by proxy to the man in the United States is not related by blood to Sakharov. Sakharov and his wife were on a hunger strike in order to gain permission for his step son's partner to travel to the United States.

BRIEFS

SCHULTHEISZ VISITS IRAQ -- At the invitation of Minister of Health Dr Riyad Ibrahim Husayn, Minister of Health Dr Emil Schultheisz visited the Republic of Iraq from 3 to 9 December. Under the patronage of the two ministers, Hungarian-Iraqi talks were conducted on health affairs, and an exhibition of Hungarian medical instruments was opened. Dr Emil Schultheisz was received by 'Izzat Ibrahim ad-Duri, vice chairman of the Revolution Command Council; Muhyi ad-Din Ma'ruf, vice president of the republic; and Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister. The Hungarian minister of health had talks with Hasan 'Ali al-Amiri, minister of trade, and with his Iraqi counterpart. The agenda of the talks, which were held in a cordial atmosphere, included current aspects of Hungarian-Iraqi relations and possibilities for developing cooperation, with particular regard to expanding cooperation in health affairs. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Dec 81 p 10 AU]

WARSAW MEDIA REPORTS ON INTERNAL SITUATION

Forces Prevent Katowice Strike

LD141904 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1834 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs press spokesman, an irresponsible group of extremists from NSZZ Solidarity has attempted to organize a sit-in strike at the Katowice steelworks, despite the martial law declaration. The attempt was blocked by firm action on the part of the forces of order supported by the dignified and civic attitude of the workers.

Twenty of the active instigators and organizers of preparations for the strike have been detained. They will be prosecuted in accordance with the martial law regulations.

Support for Katowice Action

LD142228 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2112 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpt] The public life and behavior of the citizens of our country is at the moment being regulated in accordance with very rigorous and -- we stress -- unambiguous regulations. The seriousness of the moment, social and national responsibility, demands utter compliance with the requirements of martial law. It was introduced in order to save the country, and this supreme goal sanctions the recourse to extraordinary measures, including the harshest -- which, after all, are an ordinary consequence of the extraordinary situation in which the country found itself.

All the prohibitions, injunctions and restrictions in force at the moment apply to all citizens, without exception. Non-observance incurs very severe consequences. There must be general awareness of this. Ignorance will not justify anyone. Anyone who violates the order defined by martial law must know what awaits him. The authorities are not, and cannot be, lenient.

As we have heard, in the Katowice steelworks, an attempt at a sit-in strike was made. The resolute action of the forces of order led to the arrest and isolation of the initiators of this attempt. They will be dealt with in summary proceedings [w trybie doraznym]. The two activists of the Lodz region of NSZZ Solidarity, Slowik and Kropiwnicki, who caused among other things the assembly of a large number of people in the vicinity of the Lodz headquarters of this union -- which is dangerous at the present time -- will likewise be brought to account. The news that there has already occurred a need to apply in practice the repressive regulations of martial law is depressing. But what is cheering and valuable is that the action of the forces of order in the Katowice steelworks met with support and understanding.

Solidarity Officials Detained

LD142022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Yesterday in Ulica (Street) Piotrkowska 260 in Lodz, near the premises of the Lodz regional board of NSZZ Solidarity, Andrezej Slowik, chairman of the board, and Jerzy Kropiwnicki, deputy chairman who are also members of NSZZ Solidarity's National Commission, used a public address system to assemble a sizeable number of people.

The above-mentioned men scattered leaflets from the windows of Solidarity's premises; the purpose of the leaflets being to weaken Poland's defense readiness.

Andrzej Slowik and Jerzy Kropiwnicki have been detained. The Lodz Voivodship prosecutor's office has been asked to start summary criminal proceedings against them, as provided for in the article 46, paragraphs one and two of the 13 December 1981 decree on martial law.

First Working Day 'Calm'

LD142246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] How did today pass, the second day of martial law -- a supremely essential measure which, nevertheless, gives us hope that there will be peace and order in our public and private lives? We are aware that thousands of people, worried about their family and dear ones who live in other towns or voivodships, expect an answer here. Well, we do have good news for them: Generally, there was calm in Poland. The overwhelming majority of the public subordinated itself fully to imperatives arising from the introduction of martial law. The curtailment of civic freedoms, understandable in this situation, as well as some difficulties in every day life have been received with complete understanding by a considerable proportion of the population.

It was with seriousness and concern, but also belief that the long-desired order will come about in the country, that most Poles arrived punctually at and commenced work, apart from those who did not hear the latest evening radio communiques and thought they could only leave their homes after 0600. In any case, on 14 December this year, we again became a country of working people. Workplaces in Poznan Voivodship, including the Cegielski plant, worked. Calm and work defined the rhythm of today in Ostroleka Voivodship. In the construction combine in Ostroleka, as well as in some other plants, chairman of Works' Commissions of NSZZ Solidarity went to the management and asked to be assigned work, since, by the decree issued by the Military Council for National Salvation, the activities of all unions have been temporarily suspended.

Most workplaces of the mining industry worked, as did most steelworks, light and food industries' plants. Municipal transportation and intercity transportation operated, in as much as it was possible for it to do so.

However, it is also true that in several plants in the country, including a few in Warsaw, groups of professional agitators, conscious that their own interests were threatened, sowed confusion and made it more difficult for normal work to get underway, calling for opposition to the law currently in force.

This was the case, for instance, in Plock. These people know well about the consequences to all those who place their trust in them. Therefore, this kind of practice -- hiding behind someone else's back, behind the back of workforces -- is all the more reprehensible.

First Working Day Reviewed

LD150822 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Monday was the first working day since the introduction of martial law in the country. A large majority of the community, acknowledging the seriousness of the situation and the responsibility that rests today on every Pole, displayed a great deal of understanding and calm and maintained a civic stature. However, there were incidents of failure to understand the situation that martial law creates.

On the whole, the country was calm. With few exceptions, trade and service establishments, the health service and municipal transport functioned normally. In Szczecin, communal services worked without any hitches. There were no problems with supplies of bread. Unfortunately, there were cases of hoarding, and this is why there was not always enough bread to go around. On the other hand, there was no shortage of milk in the morning. People began work as usual yesterday morning, although there were groups in some enterprises that were inciting a strike atmosphere.

In Szczecin schools, which like schools in other voivodships, were caught unawares by the announcement of winter holidays. Courses were organized for young people and children.

In Piotrkow Voivodship, attempts by irresponsible people to halt work in certain workplaces in the voivodship had no effect; production continued uninterrupted. Voivodship authorities took measures to improve the work of municipal trade and transport.

In Lublin and Lublin Voivodship, the rhythm of life was almost normal, even though everyone was aware of the seriousness of the situation that has arisen. Municipal and intercity transport operated without any major disruptions, although there were more passengers than usual, due to there being fewer private vehicles on the roads and the announcement of winter holidays for schoolchildren and students. As far as supplies of basic foodstuffs are concerned, there were no major shortages. In the morning, however, milk and bread failed to be delivered to some districts in Lublin.

The briefest way to describe Monday in Poznan can be: civic attitude, corresponding to the requirements of the current state. Workforces of the largest enterprises, including Cegielski works, carried out their duties normally. In one of the W-4 factories which is part of the Cegielski works, there were some breaks. In order to restore the normal course of production, Skrzypczak, first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee, went there to talk to the workers.

In the Kora clothing factory in Warsaw nearly the entire workforce turned up for the first shift at 0600. It produced good results by the end of the shift. At 1400 the second shift began work. In the Opole Voivodship, workers at all production enterprises began work yesterday morning. There were only small delays caused by weather conditions, frost and ice. Almost all workers turned up for work in Rzeszow. In the Rzeszow transport equipment factory six departments were idle at first but gradually began working. Low temperatures and a shortage of spare parts made it difficult for buses to run. There was no shortage of rationed goods in shops, although a greater demand for them was observed.

PRESS AGENCIES REPORT ON CURRENT SITUATION

Gdansk Workers Occupy Shipyard

PA150229 Paris AFP in Spanish 0200 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] On board the "Pomerania," Baltic Sea, 15 Dec (AFP) -- Ake Dahl, a representative of a U.S. naval weapons company has told AFP that workers at the naval shipyards in Gdansk were preparing today for a general strike.

Dahl, who was returning to his residence in Goteborg, Sweden, on board the ferry "Pomerania," said that he was barred from entering the shipyard by the workers, who told him from behind the gates: "We have occupied the area...do not enter."

Passengers on board the "Pomerania," who left Poland this morning, all agreed that there were Polish armored cars and tanks on the main highways. A West German passenger indicated that gasoline was no longer available in Poland today.

Some 50 persons, including two French television teams, were on board the "Pomerania," which is due to arrive in Sweden at 0600 on Tuesday. Only Polish truckdrivers and Swedish citizens of Polish origin were permitted to board the craft.

Walesa Reportedly in Warsaw

NC142142 Paris AFP in English 2135 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Paris, 14 Dec (AFP) -- Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa is still in the Warsaw region where, according to the latest reports, he is holding talks with Polish Government representatives, an advisor at the Polish Embassy said here late today.

Tadeusz Kochorowicz made the comment on French television.

Reports yesterday after Warsaw declared martial law said Solidarity leaders were rounded up while Mr Walesa was given the choice of prison or talks with government officials. Mr Walesa's exact whereabouts were unclear but he was said to be in the Warsaw region.

Today Mr Kochorowicz said the reported imprisonment of union members "was not exactly the case." "Confinement was spoken about, which means that it will not be mentioned on any police records," he said.

Insisting that Polish Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski had not initiated a military coup d'etat, the diplomat said the state of siege involved "exceptional emergency measures provided for in the Constitution".

"It is often forgotten that there is a precise article in the Constitution and the state of siege was decreed based on this article," he said.

Walesa Refused To Negotiate

NC150911 Paris AFP in English 0904 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Stockholm, 15 Dec (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, president of the Polish free trade union Solidarity, has been arrested for refusing to negotiate with the new military government, according to the body's spokesman in Sweden here today.

Stefan Trczinski, interviewed here on the Swedish radio, said that he learned of the arrest from Poles who had arrived here by ferry from Poland on Monday.

He said that Mr Walesa had refused to negotiate because the authorities refused to let him consult with other Solidarity leaders under arrest.

The Polish authorities have maintained that Mr Walesa was holding talks with two Polish ministers and was being well treated.

Reports from Warsaw say that 3,000 members of Solidarity have been arrested.

Walesa Said Under House Arrest

LD151058 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1000 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Strikes and protest actions are in progress in several places in Poland, according to a report by Ture Rundgren from the Malmo office of Swedish radio. He left Poland this morning.

The protests seem to be particularly extensive at the shipyards of Gdansk and in Szczecin, the places where the strikes and citizens' movements flared up in August 1980. the big Lenin shipyard has been occupied by the workers, according to a Swedish ship surveyor there.

In Szczecin streetcars drive around with posters urging people to go on strike.

Strikes are also going on in towns such as Gdynia, Sopot, Katowice, Lodz and Warsaw. Army units have gathered in Gdansk and Szczecin and tanks are moving in the streets. There is no information that the police or the army have taken action against the strikers or others taking part in the protest movement.

Information about what is happening in Poland now is almost entirely available from people who have left the country. The polish authorities cut telecommunications with foreign countries last night. Inside Poland only local calls are being put through. The country is thus almost completely isolated from the rest of the world.

It is not known to what extent the ruling military council has the developments under control.

Most of the Solidarity leaders have been arrested, and according to an unconfirmed report, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa is being kept under house arrest on account of his refusal to cooperate with the authorities. The authorities announced in a communique last night that the situation in Poland is calm, but at the same time accused professional agitators of spreading confusion, particularly in factories and other places of work in Warsaw.

Troop Movement Noted

LD141124 Hamburg DPA in German 1014 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Ystad, 14 Dec (DPA) -- Some 15 Swedish travelers some of them journalists, were forbidden to enter Poland when they landed by ferry in Swinemuende on Sunday evening from the Swedish city of Ystad. According to a radio message received from the ferry "Wawel" on Monday morning, the Polish officer at passport control explained that he was merely following new orders to the effect that journalists were permitted to enter Poland only with an invitation from the official INTERPRESS news agency.

Swedish travelers reported troop movements in the area of Swinemuende when they arrived in Ystad late on Sunday evening. There were several military columns on the roads and several hundred vehicles including tanks and amphibious vehicles.

Road, Rail Traffic Unaffected

LD141502 Hamburg DPA in German 1210 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Hamburg, 14 Dec (DPA) -- Road and rail travel from the FRG to Poland apparently remained unaffected on Monday. Only flights to and from Poland remained canceled.

The directorate of the federal railways in Cologne said on Monday that freight and passenger traffic is operating without interruption. Prior to this the GDR Ministry of Transport had already reported that rail traffic to and from Poland is running completely normally.

Trucks with donations to the Polish people were processed politely and cooperatively at the Herleshausen crossing point, for example, drivers said. The German Red Cross and the workers' welfare organization reported that they wish to continue sending aid packages. Thus the German Red Cross intends to send by ship from Kiel to Gydniat (Gdansk) tomorrow (Tuesday) 17 trucks with medicines, children's food, and basic foodstuffs.

In the Polish Embassy the telephone lines are red hot. Some 600 Poles who are currently in the FRG have called. They were told that the border is open to Polish citizens for entry.

Solidarity demonstrations have been planned for Poland in several cities. The nationwide initiative "Solidarity for Polish Solidarity" announced a demonstration for Monday in front of the Polish Embassy in Bonn. There are to be actions in several towns next weekend. In Berlin, where there was also to be a demonstration on Monday, the windows of the Polish LOT airline office were smashed on Sunday evening, as were those of the Soviet Aeroflot travel bureau and of the American Pan Am airline.

MILITARY COUNCIL REVIEWS MARTIAL LAW TASKS

LD141854 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The second day of martial law coincides with its first working day. Calm prevails in most of the country.

A session of the Military Council of National Salvation was held in Warsaw today under the chairmanship of Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. Taking part in the session were representatives from departments of the Committee for National Defense. The meeting assessed the current situation after the introduction of martial law and defined the appropriate tasks for the armed forces, the state administration and economic organs.

WARSAW TV REPORTS STATE COUNCIL PARDON DECREE

LD141754 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1430 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] In connection with the introduction of martial law, the Council of State -- availing itself of its constitutional powers allowing it to ensure conditions favorable to national accord and to the continuation of the socialist transformations of social life -- has applied simultaneously a universal act of clemency and pardon, and of allowing certain offences and misdemanors to be overlooked.

On the authority of the issued decree, certain punishable forbidden acts have been pardoned, consisting among others of: striking at the international alliances of the state; mocking the political order and the organs of the state; actively attacking and abusing public functionaries; damaging and illegally using social property; calling for disobedience regarding the law; disseminating false information which might evoke public unrest; imprisoning, violating the personal inviolability and slandering of a second person; and other similar violations of the legal order.

The waiving of the penal responsibility of perpetrators of the acts indicated as examples, however, takes place only in cases when they were committed for political reasons, or when they were directed against public functionaries or state or social institutions in connection with the official or statutory activity carried out by them; or also when they took place against a background of social conflicts in connection with strikes or protest actions.

The act of clemency encompasses only those persons in relation to whom preliminary proceedings have not yet been instigated by the proper organs of investigation or by public-order organs. On the other hand, if concrete reproaches have already been presented to these persons, but have not yet been judged by law, the condition for a pardon is the submission of a written pledge to observe in future the legal order, and respect for the principles of community life.

In the issued act of clemency, the conviction is expressed that persons who avail themselves of its benefits will join in active participation in the development of the economic life of the country, the consolidation of social harmony, and the strengthening of social discipline.

In relation to persons who nonetheless would not make use of the possibility thus created for a conscientious fulfillment of the constitutional obligations of every citizen, and would once again violate the legal order in force, the pardoning of the committed acts will be waived, and perpetrators will be punished with the full severity of the law.

WARSAW DETAILS NEW CURRENCY REGULATIONS

LD142020 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] From the order of the Council of Ministers of 13 December 1981 on the subject of the implementation of the decree on the state of martial law with regard to the accumulation of currency resources, currency transactions, financial servicing and the granting of credits.

On the basis of Article 33, Paragraph 2 of the decree of 13 December 1981 on the state of martial law, the following order has been made:

1. The settlement of accounts and transactions in the population's savings will take place on the basis of the following principles:

A. All payments of sums of money due to the state treasury or other units of the publicly-owned economy will be made without any restrictions, on the basis of the procedure which has been in force hitherto.

B. Payments into the saving accounts of the population will be received on the basis of the procedure that has been in force hitherto and without restrictions.

C. The payments referred to under "A". can be settled from savings accounts of the population without restrictions.

D. Withdrawals from savings accounts must not exceed the sum of 10,000 zlotys [Z] in any one month. Withdrawals from current savings accounts can exceed that figure to the amount of monthly deposits of money from remuneration, retirement pensions or other pension.

E. Payments on account of savings vouchers drawn to bearer and the payment of vouchers drawn to named persons will be made up on the basis of the procedure set out for savings accounts under "D".

F. Withdrawals from savings accounts to meet funeral costs will be made on the basis of the procedure that has been in force hitherto. In the event of other special cases of properly documented misfortune, the amount of the single payment will be decided by the manager of the banking branch concerned.

2. The servicing of bank accounts of units of economy other than those publicly owned will take place on the basis of the following principles:

A. Transactions not involving ready cash conducted through banks accounts will take place as hitherto and without restrictions.

B. Withdrawals from bank accounts can be effected in ready cash to meet the requirements of remuneration due to employees of the owners of these accounts, to the amount due in the given month according to the submitted list of wages, and for personal needs to the amount of Z15,000. Ready cash necessary for the purchase of raw and finished materials, semifinished goods and tools, in an amount ensuring the continuity of production and services, can be paid out with the consent of the manager of the banking branch concerned, on the basis of an account statement substantiating the necessity for the purchase to be made.

C. The principle referred to under "B" holds good also in the case of all savings accounts of persons in charge of individual agricultural farms.

The regulations of paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 will apply similarly to corporate bodies which are not units of the public owned economy.

3. The servicing of currency accounts of the population and of Polish units of economy other than publicly owned ones take place on the following principles:

A. All deposits in foreign currencies are accepted for crediting to currency accounts as hitherto and without restrictions.

B. Cash payments and the transmission of money and other payment orders in foreign currencies to countries abroad, will be suspended until further notice.

C. The present principles remain in force as regards the payments in goods vouchers through the general savings bank and the sales of foreign currencies for Polish zlotys.

D. The servicing of the internal export accounts continues on the same principle as hitherto.

E. In the event of travel abroad on the basis of a special permit the owner of a currency account can cash the amount equivalent of up to $300 per person and a sum sufficient to cover the necessary travelling costs.

4. Servicing of the currency of citizens of countries with foreign currencies will continue as hitherto.

5. The granting of credits and their encashment is suspended with regard to the population and units of economy other than publicly owned ones until further notice.

Credit cheques issued to young married couples before 13 December 1981 remain valid and will be honored on the same principles as hitherto.

Withdrawals from employees' and friendly societies and mutual assistance clubs will be restricted to Z10,000 per single loan recipient. This restriction does not apply to hardship grants paid out by such banking enterprises.

The minister of finances and the chairman of the Polish National Bank can introduce changes in the application of the principle expressed in the first paragraph.

6. As regards settlement of accounts with countries abroad in respect of transactions involving goods or services, as well as banking operations with countries abroad the principles in force hitherto remain unchanged.

7. The minister of finances and the chairman of the Polish National Bank are authorized to regulate matters concerning the settlement of accounts, financial servicing, savings transactions and credits which are not covered by this order.

8. On 14 and 15 December 1981 banking services and savings account services in general savings bank agencies and post offices will be suspended except for the acceptance of store takings, payment in respect of agricultural procurement deliveries and sums for employees' wages.

9. The increased rate of interest on deposits in savings accounts valid as from 1 January 1982 will be maintained. The state guarantees the integrity of saving deposits both in zlotys and foreign currencies and their full payability, including the interest accrued, after the stabilization of the situation in the country has been achieved.

10. This order comes into force with immediate effect from the day of its issue.

OBODOWSKI CHAIRS ECONOMIC COMMITTEE MEETING

LD142136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers held a session today. Deputy Premier Janeusz Obodowski was in the chair. The introduction of martial law on the territory of the entire country sets special tasks for this organ of the government. They require that speedy and efficient actions are undertaken. In connection with this, the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee takes over all the functions of the Anti-crisis Operational Staff. The committee will be in charge of operative steering of the economy and coordinating the work of constituent parts of the economic administration.

At the session, heads of ministries outlined the situation in the areas they supervise. Work is underway as normal in the majority of production enterprises. However, they encounter problems with major raw materials and energy. Measures to alleviate this have been examined. The Council of Ministers' Economic Committee familiarized itself with information on supplies of foodstuffs to the market. It transpires from an assessment of stocks of basic foodstuffs that it is possible to satisfy the needs of the rationing system. The need for strict control of the transporation of meat and other agricultural products between voivodships, according exactly with the set norms has been emphasized. Otherwise, major urban-industrial conglomerations will to some extent, be deprived of allocations for coupons.

Measures will also be taken ensuring that 900,000 tons of crops will have been purchased by mid-February 1982.

A system of exchanging sowing materials for edible or fodder crops will be introduced for farmers, among other things.

NOVEMBER ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE REPORTED

LD142238 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The Main Statistical Office has published data about the economic situation in the country in November 1981. The situation continues to be very difficult although a certain slowing down in the decline of industrial output has been noted.

Here are some figures illustrating the size of production and trade transactions:

In comparison with November 1980 the value of the production of publicly-owned industry fell by 9.4 percent. During the 11 months of this year -- in comparison with the same peiod of 1980 -- the value of production sold was 12.9 percent lower while the wages fund increased by nearly 25 percent. The output of hard coal amounted to 13.9 million tons in November which is almost 2.5 percent more than in the same month last year. At the same time the output of hard coal was more than 18 percent lower than the output for November 1979. Altogether the output of hard coal during the 11 months of 1981 amounted to 149.8 million tons -- almost 17 percent less than the year before. A decrease of 6 percent has been noted in the output of electricity. The full requirement of electricity at the evening peak time of demand was 831 megawatts short in November 1981 -- a little less than a year ago. Points 19 and 20 on the scale of electricity supply were reached and announced on 13 occasions.

The output of industrial goods for supply to the market increased in November 1981 in comparison with October 1981 but there has been a further decline in the average daily output.

Statistical data relating to agriculture show in particular a further rise in the free market prices of foodstuffs and livestock -- mainly young pigs. An increase of 2.5 times has occurred in the prices of the four staple cereals [wheat, rye, barley and oats] in free market transactions in comparison with November 1980. The signing of contracts for delivery of fatstock continue to be at a low level. The number of pigs contracted for declined by nearly 45 percent, and the number of cattle by 30.6 percent.

The situation continues to be very difficult in the procurement of agricultural produce. For example, the procurement of fatstock has declined -- in comparison with November 1980 -- by 35.3 percent; the procurement of milk and eggs has increased. Very good results have been noted in the procurement of potatoes which shows a nearly threefold increase in comparison with the procurement of potatoes from the 1980 harvest. Also, as to the deliveries of sugarbeet from this year's harvest there has been a considerable increase -- by nearly 64 percent -- in comparison with the same period in 1980.

The next subject: housing. The total area of the accommodation handed over for use during the first 11 months of this year has proved almost one quarter less than a year ago. Only 62 percent of the target envisaged under the plan, which has been reduced by 1/3 in comparison with 1980, has been achieved by the end of November.

The situation on the home market worsened in view of the further decline in the output of industrial goods and a decline in the procurement of agricultural produce while there has been at the same time an increase in the income of the population. During the past 11 months the average remuneration in the publicly-owned economy amounted to Z7,092 which is almost Z1,500 more than a year ago. The total money income of the population increased in that period by 27.6 percent. The sum total of savings deposits amounted to Z656.1 billion.

The supply of goods to the market at current prices increased between January and November 1981 by 4.6 percent. However, in comparable prices the value of these goods was 10 percent lower. The supplies of meat and meat products, including poultry, as well as fish, eggs and cream continued to decline. There has been an increase in the supply of milk and cream cheese.

There has been an improvement in the supply of flour and cereal flakes while there has been a reduction in the supply of groats. The demand for cosmetics, soap, washing powder and dishwashing liquid continued to be unmet.

The supply of goods from light industry was considerably lower. Processed fruit and vegetables were still in short supply and the supply of potatoes did not meet the demand. In the first 11 months of 1981 -- in comparison with the same period in 1980 -- there has been a decline in export in general -- by 14.4 percent. Export to socialist countries declined by almost 9 percent and export to capitalist countries by over 20 percent. During the period in question there has also been a decline in imports -- in general by 8.8 percent; imports from socialist countries increased by nearly 5 percent and imports from capitalist countries declined by more than 24 percent.

EDUCATION MINISTRY EXPLAINS SCHOOL CLOSURES

LD141902 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] In view of the fact that the decision of extending school Christmas holidays had to be taken suddenly and because of the absence of normal telephone communications, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing has expanded the communique which was published yesterday. Here are the main points:

There are no lessons at schools beginning today until 3 January. However, during the extra days without lessons, i.e. until 24 December, teachers are obliged to work. This means that cultural centers, nursery schools and so-called extended childcare centers will be functioning normally and with an increased number of staff. Extended childcare centers include emergency childcare services, state children's homes, child training centers and others.

No decision has yet been taken on the subject of winter holidays which have been originally envisaged for the period 1-14 February. It is already known however that the whole winter rest campaign for children and youth has been abandoned.

The Ministry of Education and Upbringing explains that the decision on the earlier start of the Christmas holidays was adopted in view of the anxiety that the introduction of the state of martial law may cause local transportation difficulties. The intention was also to ensure the safety of the children and the youth and to allay parental fears about whether to send their children to school in the current situation.

RADIO, TV PERSONNEL INSTRUCTED TO PAY SALARIES

LD142150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Here is a communique. Chief editors and chief bookkeepers of radio broadcasting stations and television centers, and directors and chief bookkeepers of establishments subordinated to the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs will organize and carry out payments of salaries and fees for employees of the above mentioned establishment by 28 December this year. Salaries and fees not collected by 30 December this year should be reported to the economic office of the committee.

HEALTH MINISTER ISSUES APPEAL FOR COOPERATION

LD150950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] The minister of health and social welfare has appealed to all those who are employed by the health service to work with full involvement for the good of the sick. Everywhere and at all times, all health service facilities should work peacefully; no reactions, or arguments, justifying other courses of action can exist.

The minister has also appealed to students of medical academies and senior pupils in secondary medical schools to turn up at the nearest health service facility to commence work there and help the permanent staff.

This appeal constitutes, at the same time, an instruction to the management of health service facilities to ensure appropriate labor conditions for those who come forward.

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER ON ECONOMIC REFORM

LD141712 Warsaw PAP in English 1441 GMT 14 Dec 81

["Foreign Trade: Radical Solutions Must Be Sought" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Dec (PAP) -- Polish Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz said the Foreign Trade Ministry will consistently continue the work on the introduction of economic reform and act in favour of increasing exports and imports.

At the present state of economic disarray the way out must be sought in rather radical solutions such as the reform, as small steps will not do any longer, he said, adding that full independence of enterprises can pass the test only in the conditions of free access to raw materials and intermediary materials of which a sharp deficit will continue to be felt next year.

The economic reform is to create possibilities for foreign trade to actively shape export-led production processes. Planning of trade turnover with abroad will be essentially changed under the reform, and new principles and economic-financial mechanisms stimulating exports will be introduced. They should also influence economic approach to the problems of imports, Minister Nestorowicz said.

A serious drop of foreign trade by almost 13 per cent is expected this year compared with 1980, said the minister, adding that a balance could be maintained through keeping imports at a low ebb.

He said a chance for improvement lies in increased exports of coal, sulphur, copper and silver. Export is the only source of financing imports; it also makes it possible to enrich the home market.

Because of the economic situation, certain downard corrections will have to be made in Poland's exports to CEMA countries, Nestorowicz said. A long-term agreement up to 1985 was signed so far with Bulgaria, the DPRK and Albania. Agreements with the remaining CEMA countries will be probably extended next year. Trade protocols for 1982 have been signed so far with Romania, Vietnam, Mongolia and Albania. Negotiations are advanced with Hungary and Cuba. We do our best to have all the trade protocols signed still this year.

SUSPENSION OF POLISH AIRLINES' FLIGHTS EXTENDED

LD141732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The Polish Airlines LOT have announced that the suspension of flights on domestic and foreign routes is being extended through 15 December.

SPORTS TEAMS WILL NOT GO OVERSEAS UNTIL 1982

LD141638 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports has decided to suspend the sending of Polish sports teams abroad through the end of this year.

COMMENTARIES ASSESS NATIONAL ACCORD, SOLIDARITY

Accord Option Still Open

LD141502 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Today's TRYBUNA LUDU carries an article by Anna Pawlowska entitled "Unity of the Party, Dictate of Patriotism." This is a discussion on the work and struggle in which the party has been taking part from August 1980. The author recalls at the beginning, the speech delivered by the secretary of the Central Committee at the fourth plenum of the previous Central Committee which met on 24 August 1980. The subsequent first secretary said at that time in a report which opened the discussion: It would nevertheless be a mistake, great mistake, if we were to assess strikes according to what our political opponents shout at rallies and write in various pamphlets. You see we are dealing with the broadest workers' protest in People's Poland, a protest against mistakes in the policies of the state, against bad methods of managing and ruling the country.

The author, in quoting these words, stresses that the further development of the internal party situation supplemented this assessment with one important element which was never covered up during these difficult months, that this was also a workers' revolt against great mistakes, and great ailments of the workers' party. The author then recalls subsequent decisions of the party, preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress and the full implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. Writing about the great work and actue struggle for the extraordinary congress which had been going on since July of this year, and about the fact that the party should emerge from this congress closer to workers' desires and guided by Leninist universal norms the author states that we managed to cope with this task despite the internal contradictions dividing the party, despite attacks on it from outside, and in conditions of increasing social and political tensions in the country.

The new PZPR statute is evidence of what the ninth congress achieved. This statute satisfies all the democratic aspirations which are possible without violating the nature of the party.

Anna Pawlowska, in discussing the period from the signing of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements, says that without interruptions or any turnabouts in this sphere and in spite of the political opposition which was increasing under the cover of social trust in NSZZ Solidarity and in spite of the attacks against the structures of the state and legal order the party sought every opportunity to build a front based on patriotic forces of progress and democracy. The author also stresses that never in the most menacing period when the situation was becoming more acute, even after the first congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity, even after the Radom conference of Solidarity's leadership, and in the thick of the strikes that were being inflamed, not once throughout all these months did the party equate the rank-and-file masses of the union with the antisocialist politicians hiding among the union's ranks.

An important excerpt from Anna Pawlowska's article refers to the party's search for ways of agreement which was not abandoned despite the difficulties. The idea of a front of national accord, which was put forward by the party, was supported during universal consultation by almost all primary party organizations. And this idea, Anna Pawlowska says in TRYBUNA LUDU, is the broadest of those possible without violating the foundations of the system, an idea which has been accepted and recognized by all forces and trends which agree with the socialist nature of the state, not excluding the Catholic Church, an idea which a morally and materially harassed public accepted with relief.

The political right-wing said no to this idea through the mouth of the leadership of NSZZ Solidarity.

And here is one more important excerpt from the article entitled "Unity of the Party, Dictate of Patriotism," carried in today's TRYBUNA LUDU.

The idea of a front of national accord is closed to the enemies of the system, and only to them. Apart from them it is and remains open to everyone, open despite everything, open also during the days of martial law which was declared on 13 December. You see, this front is not directed against anyone except those who are prepared to raise their hands against the supreme good of Poland. It is a law of supreme defense necessity for averting national destruction.

This was a review of the article written by Anna Pawlowska entitled "Unity of the Party, Dictate of Patriotism," carried in today's TRYBUNA LUDU.

Solidarity's 'Egoistic Aims'

LD142210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Jan Podowski commentary]

[Text] It is very difficult to talk about something that is obvious. This is, however, sometimes necessary. It happens when someone, using demagogy and plain lies, attempts to demonstrate to the public opinion that black is white. Since September of last year, these represented the means of a political struggle of the majority of Solidarity leaders. These are strong words, but they are supported by facts. At the Radom session of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium, Lech Walesa said and I quote: Since 1970 I do not believe anyone who is exercising authority. This is a very significant sentence and it does not matter whether it has been extracted out of context, or whether, as Solidarity leaders are saying of late, it was uttered at a working session. Everyone has to be responsible for his words -- the chairman of a many-million strong union even more so.

Let us reflect. If, while signing the Gdansk agreements in August 1980, Lech Walesa had no confidence in the good will of the government, then one must draw a very simple conclusion from this: The agreements negotiated with the government commission could not have been an expression of the real intentions of the leaders of the union, but merely a tactical maneuver. This was confirmed by Lech Walesa himself who further said in his speech made during the Radom debates, and I am quoting again: Let us have no illusions: This was nose-thumbing from the very beginning and I was perfectly aware of this. I did not say so because I wanted to play along, but today there is no other way out for me since matters are so advanced that one must give some way to people and tell them what our game is. No change of system can be achieved without fisticuffs. No way: The only thing is to win it.

Thus, 15 months were needed for the chairman of Solidarity to show his hand.

The second point of the Gdansk agreements states, inter alia, and I quote: The new trade unions will defend the social and material interests of employees. They do not intend to fulfill the role of political parties. They take as their standpoint the principle of social ownership of the means of production, which constitutes the basis of the socialist political order existing in Poland. Recognizing that the PZPR discharges the leading role in the state, and not undermining the established system of international alliances, they strive toward ensuring for the working people the appropriate means of control, of expressing opinions, and defending their interests.

I remember the relief and joy with which the community received this agreement; what hopes were linked with it for the democratization of life in the country, for improving conditions, for all that which we call the process of renewal. Now we have learned officially that this was only nose-thumbing by Lech Walesa. This is a bitter truth; and let us not be surprised that this sincerity on the part of the union leader and his colleagues evoked moods of depression, even the horror of a considerable section of the Polish community.

I think that many people who believed until now that the resolutions of the Fifth and Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenums constitute -- as the Solidarity leaders would have us believe -- an unjustified attack on the union, now understand that they expressed a sober evaluation of Solidarity's real activity.

When, in their speeches, numerous representatives of the Solidarity regions were saying that it is necessary to get rid of communist power -- and they did this frequently over the past few months -- it was still possible to manipulate public opinion and lead people to believe that these views are their own, and not the opinions of the National Commission. Now it has become apparent that these were the intentions of the majority of the union leaders.

It is worth recalling here the widely known statement of Jurczyk the chairman of the Szczecin region; it is also worth quoting a fragment of a less known speech by member of the Solidarity Works Commission at the Lenin shipyard, engineer Jan (Koziatek) at a meeting in Gdansk on 14 August this year. I quote: It is not possible to extract the country from chaos and destitution without a change in the political system. The return of the old order is inevitable. This is why today we must formulate clear principles which define the nature of the new elections which will select the genuine representatives of the nation. The leading role of the party, the hitherto Constitution -- all this must be changed.

One could quote hundreds of such statements by Solidarity activists. The things is that they were -- and everything points to this fact today -- only a reflection of directives dictated from above, but the leadership of the union did not admit this. At the latest session of the National Commission of Solidarity in Gdansk, Jan Rulewski put forward the postulate of speeding up elections to the Sejm and people's councils, of staging a referendum and creating a provisional government. This identity in the postulates of Mr Rulewski and Mr (Koziatek) cannot be coincidence. Thus, it becomes clear why the National Commission session in Gdansk, through the mouths of its leaders, formally expressed that it was joining the front of national accord, whereas in deed it put forward conditions thwarting this possibility. Let us remind you. The point is to eliminate from the front of national accord all social forces apart from the party, Solidarity and the church. When you think about it, this is logical.

Why should one continue to play at steering a middle course when one is already openly reaching out for power. And it is at this juncture that we reach the heart of the matter, that we begin to understand what purpose all the Solidarity leadership tactics served over the past 15 months. An improvement in the living conditions of the members of the union, democratization of social relations, or even streamlining the activities of the authorities in the implementation of social needs was the least thing they were worried about. The main aim was to block every constructive move of the government in such a way as to discredit the government and the party in the eyes of the public, to negate the good will of the authorities and to maintain and deepen anarchy.

You see, it is easy in such conditions -- availing oneself of lies and demagogy -- to grasp at the highest state posts. It is difficult to find in history a parallel of such cynical manipulation of a public which is buckling under the weight of a crisis and shortages for the sake of such egoistic aims.

Planned Confrontation

LD142014 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1834 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Was the declaration of martial law really necessary?

To this question it is possible to reply only in one way, reflecting on what the course of events in Poland would have been had the army and this harsh wartime law not been introduced.

The Solidarity leadership did not conceal its intentions, beginning on 3 December -- that is, the Radom session -- the Presidium stopped, in principle, pretending that it was looking for accord and some model of coexistence with the authorities. It was decided there that the time for confrontation had arrived.

On the 11th and 12th of December, the National Commission, debating in Gdansk, made concrete decisions as to what form this confrontation would take. The concept was accepted: Massive street demonstrations which could lead to riots. A general strike was to be the response to the attempt by the Sejm at passing the bill for temporarily putting the brakes on strikes.

The scenario for this general strike envisaged a grassroots assumption of power at work places and in towns and the destruction of local state structures.

The National Commission also passed a resolution on carrying out a referendum on the matter of a vote of no confidence in the government. We would thus have had, even before the Christmas holidays, an attempted coup d'etat and a takeover of power. The preparations were in progress.

Vigilante groups were organized; executive recommendations and instructions were issued. Clubs were made from pipes; bandages were amassed. If the army had not taken the initiative, a scenario of confrontation planned by the extremists of Solidarity would have been implemented.

The Solidarity leadership realized that when it declared a general strike and began to take over power, then the party, army and militia would take a stand against it, as well as some of the population in fact, all the forces prepared to defend socialism and the institutions committed to it.

As the independence of the country and the stability of Poland's state borders are connected with socialism then an attempt to change the system would be the same for our country as an incursion by foreign troops and would require literally a struggle to the same extent: unfortunately one must state this with sadness. The Solidarity leadership was provoking a civil war. Thus, the declaration of martial law was necessary to forestall events that would have been worse for all of us. The lesser evil had to be chosen.

Only in the formal sense did the Council of State adopt the decisons to introduce martial law in Poland. In reality, the Solidarity leadership itself sealed this development of events, it was namely the Solidarity leadership that provoked martial law and made its introduction absolutely necessary. The state authorities had already exhausted all the possibilities for peacefully preventing the consequences of the political struggle with which they had been challenged. Martial law became the last form of rescue against something considerably worse. It was introduced at the 11th hour. The army left its barracks when the security of the country and its inhabitants were under direct threat. However, it was not only the growing threat of a political coup and of civil war that constituted the reason for the army having to come forward to save the state and nation. The announced general strike would have been the final blow aimed against the dying Polish economy. The public would have lost what remains of the material foundations of existence.

During the last 10 months of the present year the production of most of the basic articles and minerals has dropped by between a dozen or so to 30 percent compared to production in 1980, which was, after all, a poor one from the economic point of view. Many Solidarity activists were stirring up strikes and unrest which were disintegrating production. If this negative effect of strikes, strike readiness and unrest on the economy had continued, if production had continued to fall at the same rate, then shortly we would have been literally hungry and literally bare. Thus, if we were hungry and bare we would not even be able to understand why something so terrible was taking place in a developed country situated in the middle of what is after all, a rich Europe.

Thus, the army had to come forward so that we might be able to overcome the crisis. You see, such economic cataclysms as ours hit nations only during wartime. Finding a way out of economic disaster required that measures appropriate to martial war be taken now. So if someone asks whether martial law was necessary in Poland then basically this question should be addressed to the leadership of the Solidarity union.

More on Plans

LD142020 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The commentary on Solidarity and the introduction of martial law that we have just broadcast finds concrete confirmation in materials which have been found in the Mazowsze region Solidarity headquarters. Here is eloquent excerpts from instructions on how to act should, as it is put, a state of emergency be declared:

In the event of government forces attacking factories it is necessary to create barricades and light fires, dig up streets and harass the patrols. In proportion to how superiority is gained over the forces of the regime, one must dislodge them from strategic installations and offices. It is the duty of every group and of every individual to carry out subversion at the rear of the enemy. A cleric should cooperate with every group. A rest room and chapel should be situated in the area of operations.

Also found at the Mazowsze headquarters were a number of instructions pertaining to the so-called revolutionary committees of social defense in housing estates [komitety rewolucyjne samoobrony spolecznej na osiedlach] and also pertaining to various forms of attacking the law and order enforcement forces and supporters of people's power.

This matter is of such an exceptional nature that we shall be returning to it in one of our next news bulletins.

COMMENTARY ADVISES CITIZENS ON MARTIAL DECREES

LD150524 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] We are experiencing very difficult times at present. Many Poles do not yet fully realize the seriousness of the times. Entirely new concepts, definitions and situations have appeared in everyday life. The restriction of civil liberties, the curfew and the militarization of many enterprises -- all connected with the martial law -- create a situation which many Poles, especially of the younger generation, are facing for the first time. It is difficult to get accustomed and to adapt to this situation. It is all the more burdensome as it coincides with difficulties in supplies, lines at stores and winter.

Although most people realize the seriousness of the situation and have reconciled themselves to the new, unusual living conditions, cases of a failure to understand the instructions issued by the authorities can be observed. One must understand, for example, that gasoline will not be available to private car owners in the near term and that it is essential first and foremost to meet the requirements of municipal services, of transport.

The authorities deemed it necessary to introduce a great deal of rigor, for example the curfew, and we must respect this. Employees requred to work shifts receive certificates enabling them to commute to work and to return home at night. Municipal transport is, on the whole, functioning efficiently. In spite of the fact that the streetcars and buses are crowded, an atmosphere of good will and understanding prevails.

We are obliged to maintain a certain discipline in our lives and at work at any post, to comply with the duties arising out of the decisions related to the civil defense of our country, with all restrictions, demands and regulations resulting from the introduction of martial law. This ought to stem not just from a fear of the sanctions associated with the decrees and the authorities' decisions, but first and foremost from a well conceived civic duty, from a concern for order and peace.

It is therefore in the interest of all of us to be thoroughly acquainted with the instructions published in the press or reported by radio and television. They define our duties and regulate the principles of collective life in the current period. Knowledge of these instructions will protect us from the consequences arising out of the violation of legal norms and of the principles of social life currently in force and will make our everyday life easier.

PAP REPORTS FOREIGN REACTION TO EVENTS

LD141110 Warsaw PAP in English 0913 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Dec (PAP) -- The proclamation of martial law in Poland is the leading theme in all foreign mass media. The mass media in the socialist countries are systematically reporting on events in Poland. They published the speech delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski and the proclamation issued by the Martial Council of National Redemption. The view which prevails in Western media is that the Polish authorities have resorted to extraordinary measures after the Solidarnosc National Committee's meeting in Gdansk passed resolutions calling for confrontation. It is emphasized that martial law was imposed only after the government's latest warnings of last Saturday went unheeded. Western politicians in their very restrained statements emphasize that the Poles should themselves find ways to solve their difficulties.

President Reagan said that he saw no reason to interrupt his weekend and return to the White House. The U.S. State Department reiterated that the American Government continued to believe that the Poles themselves should find solutions to their difficulties, without outside interference. The FRG chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, has declared that he was sticking to his principle of not interfering in Poland's internal affairs. He expressed the hope that the Poles will be able to reconcile the different forces of the nation which are now looked in conflict. He added that the Federal Republic would continue granting Poland credits and economic assistance.

Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria in a television interview said that introduction of the state of emergency in Poland was the last serious attempt to avert the worst eventuality. The chancellor expressed the view that the step had been taken after attempts to reconcile the opposing forces proved futile.

France's Minister for External Affairs Claude Cheysson declared last Sunday that events in Poland were an internal affair of the Poles. He added that there was no sign of any outside interference in Polish affairs. The Danish foreign minister, Kjeld Olesen, in a radio broadcast warned against dramatisation of the situation in Poland and said that resumption of production was badly needed in Poland.

Foreign Minister Ola Ullsten of Sweden said in a radio broadcast that proclamation of the state of emergency in Poland was an internal matter of that country and expressed the hope that this will be so.

AGENCE-FRANCE PRESSE has reported that the pope last Sunday expressed his concern about Poland. At the end of his traditional Sunday homily in the Vatican, Pope John Paul repeated what he already said on previous occasions that "enough blood was spilled in Poland in the past, and now it is time to work for peace."

CSCE SPOKESMAN VIEWS EFFECT OF MARTIAL LAW

LD142048 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1324 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Madrid, 14 Dec (TANJUG) -- "My government does not want events in Poland to have a negative effect on the development of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)", the head of the Polish delegation to the Madrid conference of 35 states, Ambassador Konarski, has stated. Ambassador Konarski added that "Poland needs international trust today more than ever."

Ambassador Konarski particularly stressed that "Poland will continue to pursue the foreign policy it has pursued so far, which means that it will urge the convening of a conference on military trust in Europe, cooperation and the relaxation of tensions in the world and among the 35 CSCE participating states". He reiterated that "events in Poland must have no negative effects whatsoever on the CSCE Madrid follow-up".

The host of the CSCE Madrid follow-up of the Spanish delegation, Javier Repurez, stated yesterday evening that "every foreign interference in Poland could endanger the preservation of balance in Europe and the world". He said that the "process of negotiations at the Madrid conference could be seriously endangered" in case of foreign interference.

33D ANNIVERSARY OF PZPR FOUNDING 15 DEC

LD151108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Today is the 33d anniversary of the creation of the PZPR. Ryszard Debowski recalls this date:

Thirty-three years ago, in the reconstructed main building of the Warsaw Polytechnic, the unification congress of the Polish Workers' Party [PZPR] and Polish Socialist Party [PPS] began. On 15 December 1948, the PZPR was formed at the congress. The atmosphere of that day was uplifting and optimistic. Numerous workforces reported the successful fulfillment of the congress' action. Youth relay races repaired for Warsaw. They were led by the Union of Polish Youth, set up on 22 July 1948 in Wroclaw to unite the youth movement.

Was this optimism justified? Certainly, yes. Despite enormous destruction, despite backwardness, measured in centuries, Poland was quickly on the way up. Reconstruction of towns and villages proceeded apace. The Warsaw Polytechnic building which, at that time, showed a sparkling bright new facade to the world, against the backdrop of destroyed buidlings and streets of the surrounding area, was a symbol of this reconstruction. It was also a symbol that a higher technical educational establishment, famous throughout Poland, was rebuilt.

On the eve of the congress, the Second Congress of the PPR and 28th Congress of the PPS, held in Warsaw, adopted identical resolutions on setting up a single party of the Polish working class. It was given the name: the PZPR. Boleslaw Bierut opened and closed the session of the congress. Congress speeches emphasized the historic significance of the unification, of the Polish working movement, which had been divided for many decades. The new position of the Polish state, as a state that began the construction of the foundations of the socialist system, was also emphatically stressed. It was emphasized that Poland was a state that had one nation and a state that had returned to the ancient lands of the Piasts [Polish dynasty] with a sizeable access to the Baltic. Much attention was devoted to the necessity of strengthening the people's state and to its speedy industrialization, as provided for in the guidelines of the 6-year plan which provided for heavy industrial development. These proposals received public support, since the majority of society realized that only speedy industrial development would make it possible to catch up with the losses suffered by Poland during the second world war, to make up for the country's 19th century backwardness, and to develop national property and national culture.

The unification congress adopted an ideological declaration that defined a direction of action for the united party. The program contained in this declaration corresponded to the desires of wide circles of the public since, among other things, it provided for the liquidation of exploiting classes, speedy industrialization, development of agriculture and its socialized forms and the dissemination of education and culture -- in all, the overcoming of the country's backwardness and the possibility of material and cultural advancement for the workers and peasants.

SD PRESIDIUM SESSION ON MARTIAL LAW DECLARATION

LD142038 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] The SD Central Committee Presidium held a session today on the party's current tasks in the face of the new situation in the country, following the Council of State's declaration of martial law throughout the Polish People's Republic.

The SD Central Committee confirmed the Central Committee Secretariat's assessment of the situation and its position expressed in the statement of 13 December this year. The Presidium states that the SD, at its 12th congress, deemed that its activities are devoted to the good of the public, which it wishes to serve through implementing democracy in a Polish socialist state. Today, in the face of a direct threat to our national existence, in the face of dangers threatening all Poles and our states, that belongs to us all, the SD emphatically stresses that only a sober-minded, mature and real patriotism will make it possible for us to avoid incalculable consequences. The SD, the party of Polish democrats, functions, and will continue to function invariably on the basis of its ideological foundation: patriotism, an active attitude to social progress and involvement in socialist construction in Poland as a system of democracy, even if temporary curtailment of democracy turns out to be essential today.

The SD Central Committee Presidium appeals to all SD members to observe the appeal and instructions of the Military Council of National Salvation regarding the matter of the maintenance of peace, creation of atmosphere of law and order, a disciplined tackling of all the tasks arising from the current extraordinary situation in close cooperation with our political allies.

ZSL PLEDGES SUPPORT FOR NORMALIZATION EFFORTS

LD141754 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1630 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] We have just received a report that a meeting of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Supreme Committee's Presidium and Secretariat has been held. The meeting assessed the situation in the country, and the main tasks of the ZSL in conditions of martial law. In the existing situation, the ZSL is determined to actively participate in countering the phenomena which created a state of threat for Poland and the destabilization of social and economic life, and act for normalization of the situation. The ZSL will act toward such transformations in social life which will help create the conditions for a speedy return to normal functioning of the state and the restoration of full civic rights. The ZSL will do everything possible so that rural areas will not be left without the most essential means of production and industrial goods, so that the towns do not go hungry, so that in the interests of the working people the organs of administration and the social and economic establishments function properly. The ZSL firmly believes that this stance will meet with positive response by the rural and urban areas, linked by the ideal of worker-peasant alliance and by the common class interests.

We appeal to farmers to supply food for towns, and to workers to supply industrial goods to rural areas. This is a communique from today's meeting of the ZSL Presidium and Secretariat.

MEDIA COVERAGE PRIOR TO MARTIAL LAW DECLARATION

Government Warns Against Rally

LD121908 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 81

["Authorized Statement" by Polish Government press spokesman -- date not given]

[Text] The Mazowsze region Solidarity executive is organizing a rally in the center of Warsaw on 17 December. Similar preparations are in progress in some other regions.

The president of the city of Warsaw, acting in the interests of public peace and order, has categorically demanded that the rally in the capital be called off. He pointed to the threat caused by the organization of a street demonstration in the present tense situation in the country. It may bring about unforeseen consequences. The same concerns the organization of outdoor events in other cities.

Poland is experiencing a serious economic crisis magnified by winter difficulties; strikes in the country are continuing and disturbances abound. Extremists forces in Solidarity are arousing adventurist political conflicts. In such a situation, turning out masses of people into the streets is tantamount to bringing the match to the powder keg; it serves to increase tension and incites disorder. This is irresponsible conduct, contrary to the internal and international interests of the country, because Poland needs at present peaceful work and order, showing that we are a credible ally and a trustworthy recipient of credit.

The demonstrations are being arranged to be held under slogans hostile to the people's power and to socialism which for 36 years has been and will remain the system of regulating the communal life of the Polish people. The speeches that have been planned are aimed at defaming and rendering odious the ideological and political principles which constitute the conditions of our state's existence and of the future successful development of the country.

Appealing for the abandonment of street demonstrations which may lead to unexpected and incalculable consequences it is necessary to warn with full decisiveness [z cala stanowczoscia] that the total responsibility for the outcome of these ventures which are damaging society and the state will fall upon the organizers. All acts against the people's power will be counteracted by the organs of public order in a decisive manner in the name of the peace of the citizens and of public order, and in defense of the line of accord against which attempts are being made to bring citizens into the streets of our cities.

Poll Cites Support for Strikes

LD122052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Text] The Solidarity Press Information Bureau has published the results of an opinion poll held among 284 delegates to the first national union congress. Eighty-eight percent of those questioned stated that the assessment of the situation contained in the position of the extended Presidium of the National Commission in Radom is right. The conditions put forward in Radom are considered by 80 percent of the congress delegates to be right and sufficient. Eighty-three percent of those questioned consider the manner in which the demands made on the government have been formulated as right. Sixty-eight percent believe that the situation requires a national protest action but only if the Sejm passes a law on special powers for the government. Thirty-two percent of those polled think that it cannot be postponed until the law is passed. The group of those polled which wants a national action without waiting for the possible bill on trade union law proclaims itself, in a decisive majority, for strikes which would immediately embrace the entire country. Apart from traditional strikes, there are demands calling for action and press strikes, including the radio and television, to be held.

COVERAGE OF 11 DEC KK PLENUM IN GDANSK

Access to Mass Media Viewed

LD111724 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1610 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Piotr Szadkowski report on NSZZ Solidarity KK debates in Gdansk]

[Excerpts] The plenary deliberations of the Solidarity National Commission [KK] began at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk an hour late. They are expected to last for 2 days. The deliberations are chaired by Miroslaw Krupinski and Ryszard Bogacz. After a brief reference to the recent talks with the government, in which there was no new important content, and a presentation on the current situation in the country, the discussion began.

One of the first topics was Solidarity's access to the mass media. In general, the problem has been reduced to the following contention: So far amateurs have been preparing access to radio and TV for Solidarity. Here three names were mentioned: Chairman Lech Walesa, member of the KK Presidium Jan Wackiewicz and Solidarity press spokesman Marek Brunne. In the opinion of the speakers the matter should be dealt with by experts. Here again three names were mentioned: Andrzej Warchalowski, Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Jerzy Kropiwnicki.

The latter dealt with the concept of forming the front of national accord at length in his speech. In the opinion of the speaker this is a dangerous concept for Solidarity and under no conditions can it be accpted.

Jerzy Kropiwnicki stressed at this juncture the wrong proportion of forces and suggested that the main part in the negotiations should be played by the state NSZZ Solidarity and the Catholic Church instead of a front of national accord, a social agreement should be signed between those forces. The remaining political parties and organizations can only -- as the speaker put it -- link up [podlaczyc] with those three groups.

Now here are a few quotations: There are parties to the agreement and those who have joined the agrements; we are a movement for the repair of the republic; we are at a crossroad and that is why the policy followed up to now in the combination, the union-the authority, cannot be continued.

And what is the way out? Either the authority will agree to a national agreement or... This is the matter about which we should ponder here, the speaker ended.

Before the break the floor was also taken by Jan Rulewski. He urged the speeding up of Sejm and People's Council elections as well as a referendum on the system of exercising power. At this juncture he added that in the referendum all members of the union would take part and may be even the entire community.

Jan Rulewski mentioned also the possible need for setting up a provisional government.

More on Plenum

LD111808 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] [Passage indistinct] Andrzej Slowik from Lodz appealed to the National Commission [KK] to give its consent to organizing an active strike in the foodstuffs and processing industry in the Lodz region since there were too many unclear matters concerning the problem of providing the population with food. This was not just his opinion and his alone.

Seweryn Jaworski, deputy chairman of Mazowsze region, stated that the union's security was being threatened which is why workers' militia should be set up throughout the country.

The proposal to declare a national amnesty for all deeds committed so far gave rise to greatest animation in the hall in which journalists can listen to the proceedings. It is the [word indistinct] which, in Seweryn Jaworski's opinion, should declare amnesty of this nature.

Among others, Marian Jurczyk also took the floor before the break which started at 1500. He said workplaces should protect journalists. Should repressions take place, a general strike should then be called. Then the speaker added that there already existed three major works singled out for strike action if a situation of this nature arose. Names of these works were not given. This is what we have for you on the most characteristic speeches made before the break.

Proceedings were resumed at 1640.

Assistant Professor Kurowski, among others, took the floor during the discussion. Speaking of the so-called draft system document [prowizorium systemowe] he stated that it was unacceptable in the proposed form since it made it impossible to introduce genuine economic reform.

At this very moment discussion is continuing. According to my information from the lobby, no revelations have been produced so far nor have any decisions or resolutions been passed. It is being said that the Saturday debate will be warmer and more concrete.

7 DEC TRYBUNA LUDU ON SOLIDARITY'S RADOM STAND

AU141414 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 81 p 2

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Empty Words and Real Threats"]

[Text] "Let there be an agreement about what concerns the nation, what is democratic and what is human, about what ought not to divide us..." This is not a quotation from an "official" communique, it is not a fragment of a speech by a "celebrity." It is the conclusion drawn at the end of Solidarity's Oliwia program which was adopted 2 months ago.

What else can be said? The program says that the union does not really possess a monopoly, that is ready to hold loyal and honest talks with the authorities, to seek out decisions which would best serve the country....

These are empty words. It has become plain after 2 months that the words quoted above are nothing more than phraseological ornaments designed to soften the real intentions laid out in the program.

The daily topic for last month was the implementation of the idea of national accord. Judging from public opinion polls, from statements and declarations by representatives of various social circles and from wordly attitudes, this is an area which has gained very wide support in the community. Both party people and nonparty people, believers and disbelievers, people whose views are not alike but for whom the supreme good is their socialist fatherland, say that they are for agreement, and think that this idea of the party's is Poland's chance.

This is typical. In this basic matter all divisions are obliterated -- the factory organizations of the party, of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and of Solidarity work out joint resolutions and standpoints. "Down below", in the so-called base, the word "confrontation" sounds particularly sinister and threatening. There in the factories, people have experienced directly the bitter taste of divisions and the setting of friend against friend and fellow-worker against fellow-worker during the protest, warning, and active strikes which have been thrust upon them....

The country wants peace and national harmony; harmony concerning socialist political principles. This is not an "invention" of the party, of the Politburo and of the premier-general. It is literally our daily bread and a condition for all non-material values.

Just to spite the achievement of this came the latest remarks by groups of people who fulfill managerial functions in Solidarity, first in Warsaw last Wednesday and then in Radom, Solidarity's Presidium, expanded by regional leaders and a group of advisers, announced that it supported blocking the idea of agreement and it issued a statement which trust the spectre of confrontation upon the nation. It resorted to methods which up to now have appeared in history as a warning to future generations.

The contemporary version of the old noblemen's liberum veto as applied to the present Solidarity leadership is a veto to economic reform, to respect for the law and for constitutional principles, it is a demand to grant Solidarity or the bodies appointed by it absolute authority in matters of state, the community and the economy.

Accusations that union activists are being "victimized" are being directed at the government. The reasoning behind this is that those who in spoken words and in print instigate people against socialism, against the party and against Poland's allies are being forced to assume legal responsibility. Some union activists have poor memories. Only 15 months have passed since the signing of the August agreements and already the pledges then made in Gdansk in Solidarity's name have been forgotten. It is worth recalling them: Point 2 says that:

"In forming new, independent, self-managing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee says that the unions will observe the principles laid down in the Polish Constitution. Recognizing the fact that the PZPR plays a leading role in state affairs and not trying to impair the system of international alliances, the unions aspire to guarantee working people appropriate means of control, expression of opinion and defense of their interests."

It turns out today that for some Solidarity activists this was a necessary cover-up in order to obtain the right conditions for uninhibited activity and for winning over many honest people to their side. The popular slogans "threat to the union," "trampling on the law," "blocking reform" are supposed to hide the real aims of activity.

In Radom the stipulations of some activists about withdrawing from political activity and concentrating on union work were not taken into consideration. During the general meeting of delegates from the "Mazowsze" region in Warsaw on 5 and 6 December, a motion to include social matters (sic!) in the order of the day was rejected. At this same meeting Mr Bujak declared that the only road to "solidarity" is opposing the activities of the authorities. He also conceived the idea of a "provisional government" -- but he did not mention what post in it he was reserving for himself.

Another Solidarity paper which was adopted in Radom is also worth publicizing. In it the National Commission Presidium and the regional leaders asked the "Ziemia Radomska" farmers' union to "...select those factories which will immediately take the Radom Higher School of Engineering under their care...At the same time those regions on whose territory institutions of higher education are to be found are placed under the obligation to constantly watch over those academic circles which are either about to suspend strike action or have suspended it already."

This "alliance of the world of labor with the world of science" will be a strange combination since the former -- "world of labor" -- will have to see...that "strike actions are not suspended" at one time or another.... Let no one be misled by this care and by the workers' phraseology in this case, for it is not the factories who will administer this "care" but the trained activists and functionaries of Solidarity.

From what the Solidarity activists' group has lately been undertaking one should also remember the various forms of blackmail which have been applied toward the highest constitutional law-giving authority in the land, the Sejm. Those who say that "they have no monoploy of truth" and who lay down the line of talks do not accept any compromise solution in the issue of the teachers' charter nor concerning the draft of a law on trade unions. As a guest at the Sejm commission's meeting, Mr Wadolowski said with all due tact shared by his activists' group: "This Sejm and the rest of it all must fall apart." This is more than anarchosyndicalism; it is advocating the collapse of the state...

The Solidarity members and activists gathered in Radom adopted the stand which they are to present before the members of Solidarity for "consultations" and introduce to the National Commission for discussion.

One cannot avoid thinking here: How is it that the reply given to the government proposals which were presented to Solidarity for consultation -- urgent and important decisions concerning the entire community -- is that 1 month or 6 weeks are necessary for the consultations. Yet for the most important matter -- rejecting the line of national accord in order to hold an "advance consultation" with a union of several million members -- it only takes a short time. We know about such "consultations" from past experience and from the worst side...

Soon the National Commission is to decide whether Solidarity wishes to place itself against the front of national accord, or whether it will wish to help out in bearing the country's burdens -- for the good of the fatherland.

One would like to be certain that it will be a decision taken in the name of the members of the trade union Solidarity, and not in the name of groups of activists, various opposition groups and "clubs." These do not want agreement for sure....

PRESS CITED ON 11 DEC RADOM DECLARATION, KANIA

LD111554 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Dec (PAP) -- Polish dailies once again discuss statements made by Solidarnosc leaders at the recent meeting in Radom, the enunciations which aroused indignation of Polish public opinion.

The PUWP CC organ TRYBUNA LUDU said that "a frontal attack was made on our social order. False cards used in the hitherto official negotiations were put on the table. A surprising determination of some Solidarnosc activists was disclosed".

"We can hope that people will dissociate themselves from adventures because they will understand that their plans will bring no good. Apart from Solidarnosc, there are also numerous social forces capable of halting strivings to confrontation. One can also believe that a reasonable, workers current, represented by most Solidarnosc members, will take the upper hand."

"It is obvious that conditions for national agreement must be created first of all by higher authorities. But this agreement started to be created also on the grassroots' level.

"Numerous representatives of the Polish society have proved many a time that the front of national accord is the only chance for fulfilling strivings of most citizens", TRYBUNA LUDU said.

"If the Solidarnosc leadership dissociates itself from the idea of agreement, then the threat of confrontation will arise", said Stanislaw Kania at a meeting of the Krakow delegates to the 9th PUWP extraordinary congress held at that city. This statement of the former party leader was re-printed by ZYCIE WARSZAWY today after the GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, PUWP daily of Krakow.

Said Kania: "The PUWP's basic ideological doctrine must, however, remain the principle of solving all conflicts by our own forces. The line from August 1980 is a durable line. Now, the party enters the period of giving organizational forms for the idea of agreement. Everything must be done to give (?support) to the party, its leadership and to Wojciech Jaruzelski who is an ardent advocate of the front of national accord. There is no other possibility".

The Polish Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote that "at last we know why the Solidarnosc leadership, despite the interests of members of the union and of all people in Poland, systematically and deliberately used all possible means to dismantle the system, including the strike terror, anarchizing social life and encouraging the impudence of criminals, leading Poland to the brink of disaster".

"But it could not be otherwise if exactly Jacek Kuron was present at the conference of Radom by way of an exception. He is an author of fundamental works on how to dismantle and overthrow People's Poland and introduce in it a new order, capitalism, of whose [as received] he is an open advocate and exponent. He deemed it purposeful to show the areas of confrontation for the gathering.

"Besides, Karol Modzelewski said a few words of truth: It is not the authorities who want confrontation."

In another article, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI said that "not so long ago the Solidarnosc leaders accused the party and the government propaganda of manipulation. Nowadays, it is possible to show who was the manipulator."

"On the whole, the fact that Solidarnosc leaders revealed their genuine intentions can do Poland a lot of good, provided that the psyche of the society changes and that it trusts actions taken by the government and the party more than so far. All the more so as it is exactly the government that consistently lays down foundations for the agreement and then, as a result of this breakthrough, Solidarnosc may purify itself", ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI said.

GOVERNMENT ISSUES STATEMENT ON SOLIDARITY

AU111435 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

["Statement by the Government's Press Spokesman" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] PAP -- THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESS SPOKESMAN HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: ON 3 DECEMBER AT THE DABROWA GORNICZA MINING DAY ARMY GEN WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI, PZPR FIRST SECRETARY AND PREMIER, SAID: "NEVER HAS SO MUCH DEPENDED ON OUR ABILITY TO REACH NATIONAL AGREEMENT. WOULD THAT HISTORY DOES NOT CONSIGN THIS CHANCE TO UNFULFILLED AND WASTED OPPORTUNITIES. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY SUCH OPPORTUNITIES IN OUR HISTORY, AND WE HAVE ALWAYS PAID AN ENORMOUS PRICE FOR MISSING THEM." A FEW HOURS LATER THE NATIONAL COMMISSION PRESIDIUM AND THE REGIONAL CHAIRMAN OF SOLIDARITY ADOPTED IN RADOM A POSITION THAT GIVES RISE TO DEEP CONCERN FOR THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE. THIS POSITION IS A KIND OF OBSTACLE IN THE WAY OF THE EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE NATIONAL ACCORD. THE NATIONAL COMMISSION PRESIDIUM HAS CALLED FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS ON AGREEMENT USELESS.

The Radom position should now make the country's political situation, which has so far been nebulous, transparent for Polish society. The Solidarity authorities have not responded positively or negatively to the proposals for agreement. They have assured us that they do not want any struggle for the power in Poland, but, at the same time, they have so often hindered or even paralyzed the authorities' efforts to overcome the crisis. They have joined the government at the table to discuss important and urgent issues, but at that very time strikes and various political campaigns -- including the plans and attempts to dislodge the PZPR from production enterprises -- have been going on or have just been launched.

THE PRESENT BALANCE OF FORCES IS CRYSTAL CLEAR. THE SOLIDARITY LEADING AUTHORITIES HAVE VIOLATED THE GDANSK, SZCZECIN AND JASTRZEBIE ACCORDS AND THEIR OWN STATUTE. DESPITE THEIR OWN FREQUENT SOLEMN ASSURANCES AND AGAINST THE ENDEAVORS AND HOPES OF THE MILLIONS OF SOLIDARITY MEMBERS, WHO HAVE BEEN LED UP THE GARDEN PATH IN THIS REGARD, THE SOLIDARITY AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION OF AN OPPOSING POLITICAL FORCE ENGAGED IN AN OPEN STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIALIST POWER AND FOR POWER AS SUCH. THIS IS WHAT THE FACTS INDICATE.

As a result, a new and very serious and pregnant political situation has arisen. Instead of cooperating to overcome the economic crisis, the Solidarity authorities are aggravating the political crisis. At a time when the winter has begun, the living conditions are very hard and our society is tired because of the uncertainty of tomorrow, because of unending tensions, protest actions, strikes and whatever undermines the people's sense of security and stability, the National Commission Presidium has actually proclaimed a struggle and a conflict aimed at hamstringing and paralyzing the legal power apparatus.

The document published in Radom amounts to opening a new stage of crisis. The hope is shrinking that negotiations with Solidarity will succeed in completing the reform, in consolidating the democratic changes and in continuing the line of renewal through compromises and mutual accord. One thing is certain.

NO ONE WILL BE ABLE TO DESTROY THE SOCIALIST STATE. UNLESS THERE IS A SOBERING UP, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE THE COSTS OF THE POLITICAL RECKLESSNESS OF THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP. THIS LEADERSHIP ASSUMES GREAT RESPONSIBILITY BY UNDERMINING THE IDEA OF NATIONAL ACCORD. IT BEARS RESPONSIBILITY FOR DISORGANIZING SOCIOECONOMIC LIFE, FOR POLITICAL TENSIONS, THAT, FOR HARMING THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL, WHICH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO STEADILY CONTINUE WITHOUT SOCIAL PEACE.

The Radom "position" attempts to explain to the public why the Solidarity leadership refuses to participate in national accord and seems to go for confrontation.

1. The party and state authorities have been accused that they "have exploited the negotiations with Solidarity and the idea of national accord in order to lead society up the garden's path."

But it is the Solidarity leadership that refuses to participate in national agreement even before any institutions of such agreement have been established. The Solidarity leadership is refusing participation before the principles of agreement, to be created by its participants, are decided on. This means that the Solidarity authorities are in advance against agreement and do not want even try to search for possible solutions of the country's fundamental problems.

The negative appraisal of negotiations with the state authorities is just as incomprehensible. After all, it was through negotiations with the government that Solidarity obtained freedom of action as a trade union with large powers and opportunities. The present round of talks, which Solidarity has broken off, pooh-poohing the very principle of negotiations, has but begun: The sides have managed merely to present their positions. Apparently the Solidarity Presidium takes the view that talks are useless if the other side refuses to regard Solidarity's opinions as an ultimatum that should be accepted without discussion. The state authorities have on many occasions proved in practice that they want to reach a compromise wherever it is possible, but that they categorically reject any attempts at diktat.

2. The government has not used and is not using any repressions against Solidarity as asserted by the National Commission Presidium. On the contrary, the government has always regarded Solidarity as a serious partner. There are innumerable proofs of this. However, he who breaks the law must take responsibility whether he belongs to Solidarity or any other body or belongs to no body at all.

The Chorzow incident, invoked by the Solidarity leadership, began when a Solidarity terror squad beat up a railroad functionary.

The militia did not unlawfully enter the paramilitary Higher Officers Firefighting School, which is now defunct. On the contrary, without using any physical force against the persons on strike, it put an end to the lawlessness of the occupation of a building belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and freed the school's command staff. The building in question was occupied not only by the former trainees, but also by Solidarity activists who had come from the outside and were led by the deputy chairman of Masovia Solidarity. They have been charged with having deprived the school commander, his deputies and his aides of freedom.

Using the aforementioned examples, the National Commission Presidium tries to justify Solidarity's refusal to participate in national accord. There is no doubt that never before have such feeble and untrue arguments been used to justify a political decision of such great significance pregnant with negative results.

3. The attempt to nip national agreement in the bud has been justified by the Radom "position" by the fact that the government intends to submit to the Sejm a bill giving the government certain powers to curb strikes and some violations of social and state norms.

Not a day goes by but strikes explode in Poland -- often for silly reasons. These strikes continue to inflict damage on the national economy at a time of a severe crisis when we are short of the basic articles that are a must to sustain life. The unceasing conflicts and rows continue to hinder the authorities' efforts to tone down the results of the crisis and to promote the measures to overcome the crisis. The abuse of the right to strike, loosened social discipline and the associated increase in criminality continue to undermine and compromise the development of democracy and to endanger the democratic freedoms that have been won. All this helps destroy the process of renewal and, in the final account, strikes at the rights the workers won by struggle in August 1980. The National Commission Presidium has exposed those achievements to risks in order to satisfy its own political ambitions. On two occasions -- on 25 March and on 30 October 1981 -- the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic adopted resolutions appealing for an end to strike actions, which wear down the country, and to unrest, which helps undermine social order. In line with a previous resolution adopted by the Sejm of the Polish Republic, the Sejm Presidium issued a statement on 18 November 1981 to the effect that if the Sejm resolutions and appeals fail to be productive, the Sejm -- faced by a state of higher necessity, which may arise -- will examine the proposal to give the government such legal powers for action as may be required by the situation.

Those resolutions and statements have not been productive. They have been ignored. The premier's appeal made in the Sejm on 12 February for 90 peaceful days and his appeals on 24 September and 30 October as well as other government appeals and the appeals made by the party, the allied political parties and social organizations have been just as unproductive.

Because strikes and the numerous violations of the law threaten the foundations of society's existence and the state's structures, it is necessary to equip the government with the indispensable powers for action. In this case the government wants restricted powers for the winter time (up to 31 March 1982) precisely in order to prevent confrontation and the need to use the ultimate measures. The government has asked for such power after a long period of appeals and persuasion. The Solidarity leadership has come out against a law that is still nonexistent and that has still not been presented to the Sejm, and has threatened a general strike if attempts are made at legally stopping strikes, although the Solidarity leadership itself at one time adopted a resolution on proliferation of strikes.

Threatening a general strike in response to the government's attempt to stop for a certain restricted time the unceasing wave of the present strikes means that Solidarity favors plunging the country in chaos. These are ruthless plans vis-a-vis our martyred society. These plans are based on evil political calculations.

4. The National Commission Presidium is also trying to convince our society that the so-called systemic provisional measures [prowizorium systemowe] -- that is, the government principles on the functioning of enterprises in 1982 -- actually prolong the old managing system and annul the reform and the laws on self-management and on enterprises. The Solidarity leadership thus expects that our society will naively and uncritically accept solidarity's statements. The government reiterates that the "principles of the functioning of enterprises in 1982" are a legal act intorducing a comprehensive economic reform in our country on the basis of the laws on self-management and on enterprises and of the reform lines approved by the Sejm. This has radically changed the position of enterprises in the national economy. As of 1 January 1982 they will be fully independent, self-managing and self-financing. The only departure from the principles of the reform envisaged for 1982 is the centrally administered distribution of a number of the raw and other materials of which there is the most acute shortage. This departure is necessary so that, under the conditions of an acute shortage of material and technical supplies, those raw and other materials can be supplied on a priority basis that are needed for the production of the necessaries of life -- medicines, hygiene articles, food, clothing and footwear for children and youths.

The "principles" will be made public in the next few days. Everyone will be able to judge directly for himself how far the National Commission's appraisal of the "provisional measures" is from the truth. For it is impossible to change the entire system of economic activity from one day to the next in conditions of serious crisis without following appropriate interim rules which create the possibility of adapting to a completely different model.

In making a resolution concerning the introduction of principles governing the functioning of enterprises in 1982, the government announced its readiness to take into consideration any proposition by Solidarity that would serve to perfect the interim solutions which had been resolved. For this purpose Solidarity was supplied with consecutive versions of the "principles" draft. The latest version -- which was examined by the government -- was given to Solidarity on 1 December.

To this day no proposition has been made by Solidarity. However, a surprising demand has been put forward that the government back down from the resolution it had passed. Solidarity activists are well aware that that would bring chaos and would weaken the economy, that it would be a big blow to the program of implementing economic reform. It would clear the road for Solidarity to accuse the government of blocking and halting reform. This is the only way one can explain the motives behind the National Commission Presidium's making of this demand.

The National Commission Presidium also states that it will protect the people from the effects of the reform. But will it protect the people from the effects of the lack of the reform which it is trying to block, opposing every single bit of progress reform can bring?

5. The National Commission Presidum says straight out that national agreement and its institutions would serve to bring back the "old system." Therefore, they are being rejected without even a wish to discuss the concept of agreement. At the same time Solidarity says that it will be ready to conclude some other agreement if only the government accedes to Solidarity's final version of demands, of which there are seven. These were defined as the minimum of conditions for agreement, which means that after these "minimum" demands there went further demands. The conditions spelled out cover the "prenunciation of anti-union repression," the backing down from the so-called provisional measures concerning economic reform and other matters already discussed in this declaration.

Above all, the "position" resolved in Radom includes demands to "present to the Sejm resolutions concerning trade unions in a form which has been agreed with representatives of Solidarity."

The government wishes that this resolution be passed as quickly as possible. In putting forward this matter the Presidium intends to influence public opinion with the idea that the authorities are reluctant about the resolution and are delaying it. This is not true. Sejm commissions with the participation of representatives from the trade unions, Solidarity among them, are currently carrying out final adjustments. These are so far advanced that soon the resolution may be a topic for plenary discussions by the Sejm.

The work on the resolution dragged on because the team working on its draft which had been formed by the State Council was carrying out consultations on a wide scale. Among other things, Solidarity organized a union debate. After the team had finished its work it became necessary to carry out further changes in the draft which were the result among other things of the activities of the private farmers' union.

And so while the union representatives are holding talks in Sejm commissions to agree on certain concrete matters, the National Commission Presidium is giving the issue a controversial nature, the nature of an ultimatum. In this way it expresses its disrespect for the Constitutional rights of the State Council and the Sejm and for the legislative work process which functions in accordance with the law. So this is perhaps yet another pretext for underpinning a political decision to reject the idea of national agreement.

Also, the National Commission Presidium's allegation that the state is secretly maintaining food stockpiles is untrue. Food stockpiles, unfortunately quite meager ones, are being openly maintained in Poland, and Solidarity is hardly taking advantage of the rights accorded to its members to take part in controls It emerges from the context of the National Commission Presidium's "position" that by pretending to be anxious about the correct management of food supplies, the union authorities desire, as they themselves say, "control over the economy" and in addition "control over the socioeconomic policy of the nation," in order words they want to adopt the unshakable powers of state authority.

The National Commission Presidium is also demanding "access to radio and television," as if it did not already have this access. On the contrary, it does, because Solidarity activists are constantly saying that they make the most of radio and also appear on television. The number of programs about Solidarity, information on the union's activities, its statements and deeds occupy a very prominent place among the mass media. No other trade union on earth has ever been covered to such an extent. However, Solidarity is leading a mass propaganda campaign of accusation in which it does not choose its words. Accompanying this is a handout and poster campaign on the subject of radio, television and the press. The union has also organized a boycott of newspaper sales. These actions have put a stop to plans for negotiating a possible increase in Solidarity's access to the mass media.

The activities of Solidarity elements as pursued in the union's internal publications, hostile as these activities are toward socialism and toward Poland's allies, contrary to Poland's raison d'etre and disputing the reigning constitutional system, do not favor it, either.

In times when antisocialist activities had quietened down and relations between the union and the authorities had normalized somewhat, Solidarity's access to the state mass media became -- as people no doubt remember -- even wider. For the intention of state policy is not to restrict Solidarity's propaganda possibilities but merely to forbid political attacks and the spreading of views harmful to the interests of the nation.

The National Commission Presidium is now putting forward a demand for early elections to the voivodship national councils. In addition, it is announcing that in the first stage of the elections to the councils it wants to have a separate register. In the current tense situation this would surely lead to a conflicting election campaign and to a political battle which would complicate the difficult period of initiating reform.

The government announces that it is not the trade unions' business to determine the electoral system. In refusing to participate in institutions of national accord, Solidarity is depriving these same institutions of influence over the way electoral law or the date of the election should be fixed. For only a representation of all those who profess socialist principles and who respect the constitutional principles of sociopolitical forces can decide on these issues.

There are too many conflicts, controversies and disagreements in Poland. The government considers that in this situation electoral battles are not in the interests of the country, but rather compromise an agreement which would make it possible to jointly settle the programs and methods for the democratization of representative bodies.

Poland has no other chance besides national agreement. Only this way can one ensure the continuation of socialist renewal and the progress of democracy. The Presidium of Solidarity's National Commission has rejected agreement. It has in fact therefore announced its support for a road which could lead to confrontation.

The government is maintaining the idea of agreement and will do everything it can to implement it. Institutions and elements serving the cause of agreement must be built up with the participation of Solidarity representatives wherever possible. In many factories and local communities constructive cooperation with Solidarity channels is continuing. This is in keeping with the spirit of agreement and establishes lasting ties. Therefore we are going to create national agreement with the good-natured masses of Solidarity members, with the working stream of people in this movement, with those elements in the union who are inclined to cooperate.

WHO IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES FOR THE NATION IS BEHIND NATIONAL AGREEMENT ALSO SATISFIES THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF ALL POLES. POLITICAL ARROGANCE CAUSED BY THE DAZE OF SUCCESS HAS ALREADY DRIVEN MANY A LEADING GROUP INTO A PRECARIOUS POSITION. FOR SOONER OR LATER THE COMMUNITY REJECTS THOSE FORCES WHICH, CRADLED BY TEMPORARY POPULARITY, BEGIN TO ACT CONTRARY TO ITS JOINT INTERESTS.

SOLIDARITY HEAD DEMANDS MEETING ON SOVIET TROOPS

LD111902 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] The Government Press Bureau informs that in a conversation with Zdzislaw Barczewskik, Legnica voivoda, today Ryszard Sawicki, chairman of Legnica Solidarity, cast doubt on the necessity for Soviet troops to be deployed in Legnica and, in connection with this, demanded a meeting with the government plenipotentiary in charge of the deployment of Soviet troops in Poland. The Legnica voivoda categorically refused to hold talks on this subject.

SCINTEIA COMMENTS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND

AU150944 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Report on SCINTEIA commentary on situation in Poland -- monitored in progress]

[Text] Public opinion in our country has learned about the statement Polish Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski made on the radio station as well as about the decree of the State Council of Poland under which the state of emergency has been proclaimed and the Military Council of National Salvation set up to maintain the order de jure in the state, to guarantee the bringing of life in Poland back to normal.

As is known, our party and state have repeatedly set forth their position as concerns the developments in Poland, stressing clearly that they do not want to interfere in the domestic affairs of that country, to teach the Polish party and people what to do, and that the particularly complex and serious problems in that country must and can be solved by the Polish people themselves, by the internal social and political forces in Poland.

Public opinion in our country has followed with legitimate concern the baleful evolution of the activity of the anti-socialist forces that have progressively led to a great disorder in the economic life, with grave repercussions of the vital interests of the masses of working people, to chaos in the socio-political life, seriously endangering the cause of socialist construction, the cause of Poland's progress, freedom and independence. The statement Premier W. Jaruzelski made on the radio stations extensively presents the causes that have led to the exceptional measures taken in Poland, the fact that the strikes, the strike preparations and the actions of protest have become rules, that chaos and demoralization have acquired catastrophic dimensions and that the people have run out of patience, that the latest statements of the extremist leaders of the "Solidarity" trade unions have revealed the real intentions of those circles -- to completely destroy the Polish socialist state power.

The proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation stresses that the measures adopted aim at ensuring internal quiet, order and the security of the population and of the country, the normal functioning of the administration and of the economy. Measures have also been taken for an appropriate supply to the population, against profiteering and offenses of all kinds.

It is a unanimously recognized truth that in the years of socialist construction the Polish people scored remarkable achievements in building its new life, in the socioeconomic development of the homeland, that it created a strong potential of socialist production and -- making the country revive from the ruins of war -- provided a high standard of living to the masses of people. Poland also gained a well-deserved international prestige, consolidated its national independence and sovereignty, asserted itself ever more strongly as a significant force of peace and collaboration in Europe and the world over. It is obvious that the action of the anti-social forces has seriously put the Polish people's achievements in jeopardy, aims at weakening Poland, its national sovereignty, at deviating it from the road of socioeconomic progress, from free and prosperous socialist development.

As known, the great achievements in the last three and a half decades were scored under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party through the concerted efforts of all working people.

Our country's party and government, the Romanian people consider that Poland has all the necessary forces able to restore the situation, to create an atmosphere of quiet, order and discipline, of creative work -- the sole source of national wealth, of the people's welfare, of the might and lastingness of the socialist system, of the Polish state. The provision of conditions for development certainly depend on the Polish people themselves.

The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has recently stated: As comrades and friends, we wish to address the Polish workers, intellectuals, peasants, people inspired by feelings of friendship and solidarity, and tell them openly that, in our opinion, the elimination of faults and shortcomings requires most highly responsible action for the socialist future of Poland, for the country's independence and sovereignty, work in full unity for securing Poland's firm advance on the road of socialism.

We are convinced that by being united, by mobilizing their energies and forces, by working in a highest sense of responsibility for the country's destinies, for the nation's loftiest interests, the working people in that country can successfully continue the grand work started three and a half decades ago -- the work of building a dignified, free and prosperous Poland, a socialist and powerful Poland, holding the place it deserves among the socialist states, among all the nations of the world. Thus, Poland will fulfill the role incumbent on within its alliances with the socialist countries, will ever more strongly assert itself as an active force in Europe for implementing the policy of disarmament, detente and peace, for a better and more just world on our planet.

By strengthening the active participation of the working class, of the people in running society, in safeguarding and enriching socialist property, in developing the forces of production and in improving the organization of society, of the new-type social relations, the unity of the entire people will be strengthened ever more powerfully under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party, the advanced social forces in Poland will triumph, the country's economic power, its national independence and sovereignty will be consolidated.

As loyal friends and allies of the Polish people, in the spirit of the traditional relations of friendship and solidarity existing between our parties, peoples and countries, of the mutual ideals of building the new socialist system, the working class in Romania, our entire people express the hope that the measures recently adopted will lead to the overcoming of the serious difficulties occurred in Poland, will contribute to the establishment of order, quiet and creative work which should enable the Polish party and state, the Polish people themselves to surmount the serious difficulties the country is facing, to its unflinching advancement on the luminous road of communism, to the enhancement of Poland's might and role among the socialist countries, in Europe and throughout the world.

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEWED ON PEACE, DISARMAMENT

CORRIERE DELLA SERA

AU111922 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Dec (AGERPRES) -- As previously announced, on December 9, 1981, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received the Italian journalist Ettore Petta, special envoy of the "CORRIERE DELLA SERA", whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Mr. President, in your speech of December 5, you have said that the Romanian people feel close to other European peoples demonstrating for disarmament and peace. Does the peace movement in Romania identify with the other movements in the West European countries or are there certain differences? Which difference, if any? At the same time, can the peace movement in Romania with its specificity set an example to and stimulate similar initiatives in other socialist countries?

Answer: Romania is showing special concern over the grave situation in Europe consequent to the huge accumulation of armaments and chiefly of nuclear ones, to the decision to deploy here new intermediate-range missiles, to develop and emplace the neutron bomb -- and generally, to develop nuclear weaponry and missiles, which is why we consider it necessary that the European peoples, which this extraordinary nuclear accumulation that truly places at stake human existence immediately affects, should launch most resolute and solidarity actions.

The peoples of our continent must expend every effort so that no more missiles should be deployed, so that the ones already in place should be withdrawn and scrapped and an absolutely nuclear-free Europe be built in perspective, thus paving the way for later reductions in classical armanents too.

In my view, the vast peace movements in Europe reflect a high political consciousness and an even better understanding by the European peoples of the need to mount most vigorious actions in order to assure their fundamental right to existence and life. That is why I consider there is full identity between the peace movements in Western Europe, in the other European states and that in Romania. It is the same threat that is confronting our peoples and it is the same wish they harbour. Of course in every country, the peace movement has a specific of its own [as received] that is due to the political and social forces involved and surely, to the traditions of each people. From this angle, one could speak, in the case of Romania, of the involvement of our political and civic organizations, including the religious ones which are all members of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front. Hence, the extraordinary momentum of the peace actions in Romania.

We have not meant to set an example to anybody else. What we have meant was to act together with all the European peoples and I would say that a powerful peace movement is developing in all the socialist states in forms fitting the respective countries.

I do not think there exists any people in Europe that fails to understand the necessity that the peoples should consolidate their cooperation and unity and act most firmly for stopping the nuclear arming and for ensuring their right to life, the chance to build their life in full freedom as each of them wants.

Question: Mr President, in your speech at the big civic rally in Bucharest you have spoken of the European peoples 'as far a field as the Pryenees and the Carpathians'. Would your excellency like to dwell a bit on the significance of this definition?

Answer: I have referred to the necessity that the peoples, in the west and in the east, go hand in hand in the right for peace. The phrase 'as far a field as the Pyrenees and the Carpathians' was meant to emphasize the need for the fullest possible unity, being also a direct call to the Balkan people for their achieving a zone of peaceful cooperation, a nuclear-free zone.

Question: The peace movement in Romania climaxed with your December 5 speech where you insisted on the threat being posed by the nuclear weapons and demanded their reduction and ultimately, their liquidation. What political initiatives at the government level does Romania plan for a near future with a view to implementing this program for disarmament and peace?

Answer: In our view, there must be full concordance between the peace movements of the popular masses, of the peoples and the governmental actions. Doubtless, we will continue to consolidate cooperation and to act along with the European peoples so as to make governments take action aiming at adoption of peace-and security safeguarding measures. At this point, I would like to gladly remark the fact that ever more European governments have come to understand that by no means can they turn a deaf ear to the peoples' will. As for us, we will intensify contacts and we will continue discussions at government and head-of-state levels for the end of common conclusions so that the negotiations begun in Geneva may end up successfully. We are resolved to spare nothing for the European countries to advance their stands and take action in view of acceptable agreements to all sides - to the two negotiating countries the same as to the European peoples which, as a matter of fact, are the ones directly concerned with halting the deployment of new missiles and with passing to remove these already emplaced - so that peaceful and equal-termed cooperation can be built in Europe where from nuclear armaments, whatever the kind, should be excluded.

Question: Does Mr President believe that the peace movements in Europe, hence Romania's too, can concretely bear upon the position of the two superpowers as concerns the immediate freeze of the missile-developing program and the withdrawal of a certain number of the missiles deployed in the European part of the Soviet Union?

Answer: I am fully convinced that the European peace movements hence, that of Romania as well, in fact the peace movements sweeping all the European states, will powerfully influence successful development of the negotiations begun in Geneva from the desire which both the Soviet Union and the United States of America share. True, they have stated their desire in a different form -- but the will however exists to talk to each other and look for solutions to give up deploying new missiles, to withdraw and scrap the ones in place.

I am holding the view that the European peoples have an important part to play in this regard because if they do not want atomic armaments both the Soviet Union and the United States of America ultimately will have to take this will into account. I say it again, the declarations of the Soviet Union, of President Brezhnev are important, and President Reagan's declarations, too are significant. Despite the different form, they both have proclaimed their readiness to conduct serious negotiations and come to acceptable solutions.

We, che Europeans, should not stay quiet until adequate accords are struck.

Ettore Petta: I thank Mr. President a lot. You are one of the protagonists of European and world politics. For this, we wholeheartedly wish you success with this policy you have been promoting so daringly.

President Nicolae Ceausescu: The success depends on the European peoples. I want to tell you that the Romanian people is firmly determined to work in this direction and I hope good results will finally come out from the action in tight unity of all the European peoples.

Finally, I'd like to avail myself of this opportunity to transmit the readers of the CORRIERE DELLA SERA and to the whole Italian people my heartfelt wishes of prosperity, progress and peace.

IL POPOLO Interview

AU111626 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Dec (AGERPRES) -- As already reported, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on December 8, 1981 Italian journalist Arturo Pellegrini of daily IL POPOLO, whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Your Excellency, the international public opinion has received with keen interest your proposals for the elimination of the nuclear weapons from Europe and followed attentively the big civic demonstrations in Romania against nuclear missiles, like that of Saturday, December 5. How do you assess the beginning of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the US and the role all states of the continent have to play?

Answer: Romania most firmly declares for the translation into life of the decisions signed in Helsinki by all participant states, for a Europe of peaceful collaboration among all countries, irrespective of social system.

We attach special importance to the problems of disarmament starting from the fact that large amounts of weapons have been amassed in Europe, especially nuclear ones. We are also worried about the fact that the emplacement of new missiles is pursued, as well as the production and emplacement in Europe of the neutron bomb -- which will considerably increase the danger of nuclear war, of destruction, in fact, of our continent. In a wider perspective we might say that that will lead to the destruction of the entire mankind.

Therefore now we give pride of place to the problem of halting the emplacement of new nuclear missiles, the passage to the withdrawal and elimination of the existing ones and the achievement of an agreement to lead to an equilibrium -- at the lowest level -- while the complete elimination of the nuclear weapons from Europe should be subsequently started, and, naturally, negotiations on reduction and disarmament as regards the conventional weapons.

We have greeted and appreciate as important the beginning of negotiations in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States, considering that they must lead to an accord on the problem of missiles, to the effect of emplacing no more missiles and of reducing the existing ones.

Considering that in fact these missiles are of direct concern to the European states, no matter on which side of the continent thay are, we think that all states should show special interest and participate in one form or another in the Genervа negotiations, that they should be able to state their standpoint and contribute to the accomplishment of the accord for halting the emplacement of the missiles and for their elimination, for a Europe free of nuclear weapons.

Question: Mr. President, you have been the promoter of the initiative for turning the Balkans into a nuclear weapon-free zone of friendship among the peoples in this part of Europe. What is your opinion on the situation in the Balkans and the prospect of attaining this goal, given that there still are controversial issues in the region?

Answer: Indeed, Romania has declared for a long time for the attainment of a peaceful collaboration among all the Balkan countries, for turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons, that should become an important factor in the achievement of collaboration in Europe and worldwide. We believe that under the present circumstances the turning of the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear armament, of peaceful collaboration, is a highly topical problem. True, the Balkan countries have problems to sort out among themselves yet we believe solutions can be reached through negotiations, the problems being not insurmountable if parties set out from the need to develop the collaboration, the peaceful living together and cooperation.

On this line there have already been taken a series of actions in recent years, there were held conferences of the Balkan countries, dealing particularly with problems of economic collaboration. Yet, in my opinion, in a near future meetings are possible to be organized even at summit level in order to find ways for implementing the targets of turning the Balkans into a zone of collaboration, free from atomic weapons. This would be an important step towards a Europe free from atomic weapons.

Question: The Madrid conference is still slow in progress. Your Excellency, how could it be made conclude in positive results, taking into account also your having suggested the next conference to be held in Bucharest?

Answer: True, the Madrid conference is slow, yet one can say certain progress has been made, that joint agreements have been reached on a series of issues, that all the participant states understand the need for an agreement to be reached on the calling of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, that further understandings should be reached on the development of the economic, technical, scientific and cultural collaboration, on the intensification of the human exchanges in general.

That is why, I am quite optimistic and confident about the unfolding of the Madrid reunion and I think that it will conclude with positive results, which will provide for the continuity of such like reunions, devoted to cooperation and collaboration in Europe.

Indeed, Romania has offered to host another reunion in Bucharest and we hope that all the states participating in the Madrid reunion will agree on that. We are ready to take all the necessary measures so that the Bucharest reunion may unfold in good conditions. to do our utmost so that it may mark steps on the road of friendship, collaboration and achieving a united Europe -- starting, of course, from the observance of each state's independence, sovereignty and social system.

Question: President, your personal stand is well-known, as well as that of the Romanian Government on the necessity of globally, justly settling the situation in the Near East. At present, there are several schemes on the settlement of the state of tension and conflict, and there is also the initiative of several Western countries, among which Italy, Great Britain, France, and Netherlands to participate in the international peacekeeping force in Sinai. What is your stand as regards the present situation in that zone?

Answer: Romania has always declared and further declares for the peaceful settlement, by means of negotiations, of the conflict in the Near East. We consider that at present it is more necessary than ever before to take action for a global peace, which may lead to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war, to the resolution of the issue of the Palestinian people, on the basis of its right to self-determination, including the right to found an independent Palestinian state. At the same time, a just peace must ensure the integrity and security of all the states in the zone.

Though in the Middle East there are a series of complicated issues, I consider that it is possible to pass to the organization of an international conference with the participation of all concerned states, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. I consider that all the countries which can do something in this respect, therefore the Western countries too, must act for achieving an appropriate organizational framework -- which I think to be an international conference -- in order to pass to negotiations with a view to achieving a global and just peace in that region.

Question: Articles have lately been written in the West, which give a distorted image of the economic situation in Romania, of certain difficulties you have. In order to give a real image of it, taking into account the fact that you made a series of critical assessments in your exposition at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the party, I would like you, Mr President, to refer to these aspects.

Answer: Romania ended the 1970-1980 period with special results in her socioeconomic development. Practically speaking, Romania's industrial output grew almost threefold and her farm output, 1.6 fold over this period. In the last quinquennium, 1976-1980 alone, the working people's real incomes increased by 29 percent, where as the per capita consumption with a series of basic commodities rose by 50-70 percent and with others even doubled.

I mention all this to show that the speculations some Western newspapers make prove either ignorance or the reality in Romania or ill will.

It goes without saying that, the current world economic crisis, the rise of oil prices and particularly the completely unjustified high interest rates brought about certain difficulties in Romania as well. But they are not an obstacle to the implementation of the programme of the country's further socioeconomic development. They certainly entail greater efforts, require certain steps to be taken especially towards a more rigorous control over imports and for the realisation of some exports which should provide the means necessary for the development of international relations and economic activities.

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties -- which are manifest in fact in all the states of the world, and were I to refer to Western countries, they are manifest quite seriously, and this includes the tremendous rise of unemployment -- I think that Romania can overcome them. This year, we have achieved an important economic growth and we have set ourselves to ensure a further general development of the economy in 1982 and on this basis a rise in the people's general welfare.

It is true that I criticized very seriously some fields of activity. Then, too, I referred to the fact that that did not mean a denial of achievements, that we wished, through this criticism, to call attention on the need for firmer measures towards fulfilling the new five-year plan in best conditions, towards Romania's passage to a new development stage -- from a developing to a medium-developed country. This requires indeed great efforts. Considering also the general economic conditions existing on an international plane, we have to do our utmost to implement the programme of economic development, and also to apply the measures of raising the people's incomes and standards of living. We have all conditions to do it.

Question: It is known that Romania, as a CEMA member country, has good relations with all states. Recently, you, Mr President, have criticized the way in which these relations develop particularly in the field of energy and raw materials. I would like you to refer to this matter.

Answer: Romania takes an active part in CMEA activities, develops relations with all socialist countries, with the developing and developed capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Certainly, we wish that all these relations and -- I would like to emphasize it -- particularly those with the CMEA member countries contribute to each country's socioeconomic development, help the resolution of questions of joint interest, starting of course with those in the field of energy and raw materials, principles actually enshrined in the CMEA statute just as in all the documents that followed it.

Yet, I must say that in this domain, too, certain shortcomings and difficulties occurred. I have stressed it wishing that, alongside the CMEA member countries, we find possibilities of solving them.

At the same time, we have developed broad relations with many developing countries. Almost 80 percent of Romania's imported oil comes from these countries, just as many raw materials, and in the last few years we import certain raw materials even from developed capitalist countries. Certainly, all this requires still greater efforts in order to have an as equilibrated foreign trade as possible, equilibrated trade balance and balance of payments. Hence Romania's insistence upon a trade which should ensure a perfect balance or, as we called it, a hundred percent compensation in economic exchanges. Starting from the fact that the current high interest rates make the recourse to loans impossible, we must achieve in our economic exchanges a fully equilibrated balance of payments.

Question: The proceedings of the joint Romania-European Economic Community Commission were held in Brussels in November for the first time. Does your excellency think that prospects exist to expanding cooperation both with the EEC member countries, taken apart, and with the Common Market as a whole? What difficulties are there still in amplifying this cooperation?

Answer: Indeed, Romania established quite a broad collaboration with the Common Market and with each of its members. The recent session of the Joint Romania-European Economic Community Commission yielded certain positive results opening prospects of expanding economic collaboration in various fields of activity, cooperation in production included.

We wish that the relations of collaboration both with the Common Market and with each state member of the Common Market witness an as broad development as possible based on fully balanced economic exchanges and on mutual interests and advantages.

Certainly, there still are questions to be solved especially those regarding the elimination of the restrictions for some Romanian exports and for certain financial arrangements in order to favour a good operation of economic exchanges. I think that these questions can be better solved in the ensuing period, particularly when the difficulties caused by the current economic crisis are overcome, and economic activities are relaunched.

We would also like that an appropriate agreement be reached between the Common Market and the CMEA in keeping with the proposals already advanced by CMEA, also taking the proposals made by the Common Market as a basis, that a common denominator -- so to say -- be found and mutually acceptable solutions be given. We consider it to be in the interest of both organizations as well as of the countries members of the two organizations.

Question: As you know, "IL POPOLO", daily I am representing, is the mouthpiece of the Christian Democrats, party with which Romania has friendly relations. How do you view these relations in the future?

Answer: Indeed, we have friendly relations of collaboration with the Christian Democrats. Many interviews were held, information and opinions exchanged on several questions of mutual interest concerning the economic and cultural-scientific collaboration between our countries as well as on international issues related to security, peace, national independence. On all those occasions we reached common conclusions. From this it results that the development of the relations between the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and even between the Romanian Communist Party -- which plays in fact the leading part in the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front -- and the Christian Democrats has good prospects.

We must take action along this line, since it corresponds to our countries' interests and serves the cause of detente, peace and international collaboration.

It is true that our conceptions about world, about the organization of society are different. But I consider that the social system questions must be solved by each people and this must not hinder the collaboration -- in domains of joint interest -- between political forces with different beliefs. We have many joint interests and we must work in this direction.

Question: Mr President, between Romania and Italy there are lasting links of friendship, collaboration and economic and technical cooperation which have witnessed an ascending course. What is your opinion as concerns the possibility of amplifying them?

Answer: Indeed, there are lasting, I should say, traditional links of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Italy. In a way, our countries are linked by the remote past, by a common culture, have many affinities which make their friendship and collaboration harmonize with both the past and the present, and particularly the future. Certainly, no country, therefore none of our countries, can live only in the past. No matter how much we value this past we should work to develop it and confer new prospects on it. Starting from this, considering the progress Romania and Italy have made in the economic, technical and cultural fields, we can amplify exchanges in the following years, providing more solid basis to our manysided collaboration both bilaterally and internationally. Thus we shall consolidate still more powerfully our friendship and cooperation in solving common problems and help the development of relations which should ensure our countries' contribution to the achievement of European and world peace and collaboration, to the building of a united Europe of free and independent nations.

I would like in conclusion to convey, by means of your publication, my choicest feelings and wishes of prosperity and progress to all its readers, to the Italian people.

Interview to Netherlands TV

AU142008 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Report on interview given by President Nicolae Ceausescu for Netherlands's NOS Broadcasting Corporation on 21 November in Bucharest]

[Text] As had been announced, on 21 November Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, received (Dirk Darksta), commentator of the NOS Broadcasting Corporation of the Netherlands, and gave him an interview.

Answering the first question, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that a particularly grave situation has been created in international life, especially in Europe, as a result of the accentuation of the arms race and of the decision to deploy additional medium-range nuclear missiles and to develop the existing ones. That brought about great international tension, especially between the two big powers. Hailing along this line the resumption of Soviet-American negotiations, our party-state leader stressed that, although the negotiations began in an atmosphere of tension and mistrust, positive results may still b obtained. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the view that both President Brezhnev's and President Reagan's proposals constitute a basis for talks, although there is still a big gap between them. However, both must be taken into consideration at the negotiations, and steps must be taken to arrive at an acceptable understanding.

In connection with his proposal about the establishment of denuclearized areas in Europe, which was the subject of another question, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted that Romania advocates denuclearized areas in Europe within the framework of and as a step toward general denuclearization of the entire continent.

Stating that our country has repeatedly suggested the establishment of a denuclearized area in the Balkans, the Romanian president said that given the current circumstances, it is possible to achieve positive steps both in the Balkans and in other areas of Europe.

In answer to another question, stating that small and medium-sized countries -- especially in Europe -- are directly interested in the resumption of the policy of detente, in halting the arms race and effecting disarmament, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said the European states must assume a greater responsibility and participate directly in negotiations concerning Europe, on both nuclear weapons and on disarmament and strengthening confidence, because the nuclear weapons stockpiled in Europe threaten the lives of the European peoples. Hence, it is the Europeans who must act to ensure disarmament and to eliminate nuclear weapons, to ensure their own future and a Europe independence and noninterference in internal affairs, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said.

Stating, in answer to another question, that Romania and the Netherlands are cooperating with good results, the Romanian head of state expressed his conviction that they will cooperate even more actively, together with other states, to achieve objectives of common interest such as detente, peace, socioeconomic progress and independence.

In connection with the various statements recently issued in connection with the possiblity of a limited nuclear war in Europe, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that such a possibility does indeed exist, since the medium-range missiles that are planned to be deployed and developed in Europe cannot hit the United States, for example. Hence, it would appear that some people are seriously considering solving international competition at Europe's expense. In view of that, the Romanian president continued, the European peoples must energetically act to prevent the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles and the development of existing ones, to bring about the withdrawal and complete elimination of all nuclear arms from Europe.

In the same context and in answer to another question, our party-state leader said that the danger of a nuclear war is extremely great and keeps growing the more weapons are stockpiled. However, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that a nuclear or any new world war can be prevented, provided all peoples and governments take resolute steps to end the arms race and to begin implementing disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

Answering the next question, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that Romania is now fulfilling its Seventh 5-Year Plan, which envisages continuous development of economic, industrial and agricultural activities. Proceeding from that, we have extensive potential for developing our economic relations with other states, including those in West Europe. There are, however, problems of a general nature which cause certain difficulties. They stem primarily from the economic crisis and from a slow-down in economic activities in various countries, particularly in Western ones, as well as from the very high rate of bank interest which practically rules out the use of loans as a means of developing economic relations. Romania, however, the Romanian president stressed, is endeavoring to find solutions to those difficulties, together with Western and other countries.

In answer to the last question of the NOS broadcasting corporation commentator, our part-state leader said Romanian public opinion is very positively impressed by the great antinuclear and peace actions organized in Western and other countries. In its turn, Romanian public opinion found it necessary to frankly voice its views and to energetically protest war and come out in support of general and nuclear disarmament and for peace. Expressing the view that one way or another all European people are opposing armaments, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the special eignificance of mass actions of the peoples, who must resolutely raise their voices and make the government listen to them.

REPORTAGE, REACTION TO POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

11 Dec TASS Attack Noted

LD111208 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0918 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- The situation in Poland is exceptionally critical.

This assessment was made by the Soviet news agency TASS.

TASS stresses that the counter-revolutionary forces are broadening the front of open struggle against the party, the government and the socialist system.

These assessments, corroborated by citing a number of current developments in Poland, are presented in such a way as to serve as a new, serious warning. The Soviet news agency also stresses that the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP], at numerous meetings of its voivodship committees and activist groups, has been warning against the danger of counter-revolution and calling for "thwarting the designs of the opponents of socialism".

TASS stresses that local Solidarity organisations have set up commando units in enterprises numbering 250-300 people, that there have been reports of weapons and explosives being stolen from state warehouses and that youths bearing the insignia of those forces which in the past fought with arms against the creation of the socialist system in Poland have been spotted in the streets.

An open attack on the electoral system is under way with the formation of self-appointed electoral commissions whose task is to conduct a campaign in support of setting up the so-called provisional government of national confidence, the Soviet news agency warns, adding that Solidarity emissaries have been making statements that "the authorities are not capable of governing the country". In its account of the situation TASS also criticises clerical circles.

According to TASS, attacks on "Poland's allied ties" are being intensified. At the same time it is demanded, for example, that it leave the Warsaw Treaty. TASS says in this connection:

"Some agent provocateurs bring into doubt the existing Soviet-Polish frontier, maliciously slander the history of Poland's liberation by the Soviet Army."

All that, the agency emphasizes, "provokes justified indignation of Soviet people."

Leaflets in which December 20 is proclaimed "the Sunday of showdown" with the Polish United Workers' Party have appeared in the Szczecin, Radom and some other voivodships, it is said in this connection. Calls "to destroy communists" are also being spread, the Soviet agency says.

Such alarming account of the situation in Poland has not appeared in Soviet newspapers already for a long time. The Soviet television too carried it in the main information-political programme. It is considered to be so much more significant as it was published as editorial view of the official news agency and not as a report from its Warsaw correspondent.

Martial Law Measures Reported

AU131853 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] According to a report by BORBA correspondent Lazar Martinovic from Warasw, all extremist leaders of Solidarity have been isolated, save Lech Walesa. A statement of the State Council was issued which explains what the martial law implies. All meetings, processions, public manifestations and cultural and sports events have been banned, except religious meetings, but exclusively those held in churches. Every activity of the trade union organizations and strikes have been banned. In case of need, a partial or full mobilization can be carried out. In work collectives, the military units have taken over all control. Censorship of mail and telecommunications is being introduced. Special permits must be obtained for every movement from one place to another, while citizens are asked to refrain from appearing in public places.

The activity of radio and television is limited to one single program. All border crossings have been closed. Air traffic has been cancelled, while Polish missions abroad will not issue visas to enter Poland.

Warsaw Cut Off

LD131718 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 13 Dec 81

["Martial Law Introduced in Poland" -- TANJUG headline: by TANJUG correspondent Zoran Zlatanovic]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 13 Dec (TANJUG) -- A Military Council of National Salvation was established in Warsaw last night and martial law introduced in the country. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski addressed citizens of Poland in a speech broadcast over the radio at 0600 today. He said that the situation has dictated taking such steps in order to save the country from an imminent catastrophe. General Jaruzelski said that the introduction of martial law did not mean the abolition of consitutional institutions. Military plenipotentiaries were appointed in towns, municipalities and enterprises.

Jaruzelski said that during the action taken during the night "all extremists" were interned. Also interned was a group of former highest-ranking party and state leaders who were responsible for the state of the country since the early 1970's. The include Gierek, Jaroszewicz, Grudzien, Lukaszewicz and others.

Warsaw has been cut off as have some areas in the city itself. Security forces and special army units are out in the streets. All telephone and telex communications continue to be out.

Last night security forces and army units took extraordinary measures in Warsaw. In the Polish capital all telephone and telex communications were cut. The Solidarity headquarters for the Mazowsze area in the center of the city was cut off by heavy military and police vehicles.

The action started just before midnight. First, telephone and telex communications were cut. The main telegraph exchange was taken over by the army [as received] in charge of security.

According to available reports, security forces carried out certain arrests in the city. It appears that quite a large number of persons were arrested, mainly from the Solidarity headquarters for the Mazowsze area.

Evidently prepared in advance, the action was carried out quickly and efficiently, vehicles of the police and other security forces were patrolling the streets of the capital during the night.

It is not yet known whether the entire action has been confined to the capital or whether it is happening throughout the country. The action is being carried out by the Polish security organs in collaboration with the Polish Army.

Martial law was introduced on the basis of Article 33 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland.

At midnight between Saturday and Sunday, 12 and 13 December, the State Council met in Warsaw and declared the state of war [ratno stanje] in the country.

The capital is quiet. Security forces and army units are in the streets. Areas where the headquarters of the party Central Committee, government and Sejm are located have been cut off by security units.

Following a decision by the Committee for Radio and Television, the activity of all local radio and television stations in Poland had been suspended as of today and replaced by a single radio and television program. Likewise, in accordance with this decision, the transmissions of Warsaw radio's second, third and fourth stations have been suspended, and they have joined the program which is to be broadcast nationwide. Local television centers have also joined the central program of Polish television.

By the same decision some of those employed by radio and television have been given temporary leave.

Communication With Poland Cut

LD131232 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG) -- All telephone, telegraph and Telex communications between our country and Poland were cut last night. Since this morning our post, telegraph and telephone service has been contacted by the post offices of several European countries with the request to use our lines, if possible, in order to contact Poland. Indrect channels, normally used when regular ones are cut, are likewise out of action.

The Polish airline LOT today cancelled its flight to Warsaw. According to a LOT representative in Belgrade, all international flights from Poland have been cancelled. It is uncertain whether international traffic with Poland will be resumed during the next few days, the LOT representative said.

It has been announced that, as of now, the Belgrade airline JAT has not cancelled tomorrow's flight to Warsaw.

Local Media Suspended

LD131836 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Dec (TANJUG) -- Under a decision of the Polish Committee for Radio and Television, as of today the activity of all local radio and television stations is suspended and one, central radio and television programmes introduced for all of the country.

In keeping with the decision, Radio-Warsaw is suspending its second, third and fourth programmes and plugging into the one, nation-wide programme. The local television studios, too, are plugging into the one, central Polish television programme.

Under the above decision, a part of the radio and television employees have been sent on a temporary vacation.

Sundic on Polish Crisis

LD132246 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Since last night Poland has been living under a military government and Europe and the world are living in fear from the danger of war. Nobody is surprised and nobody is prepared to share the fate of the Poles. Military blocs have their own calculations and their own logic of behavior while all others, including the Poles too, have nothing more than the right to think about what will happen tomorrow.

The Poles have not been able to come to an agreement. It seems to us somehow that they have not tried very much to succeed in this either. The government and the PZPR Central Committee led by Jaruzelski, who addressed the nation early this morning with the proclamation on the state of emergency, that is, state of war, have decided to leave the destiny of the country to the army and the security forces. The Military Council of National Salvation will try to do what the leading forces of Polish society have not succeeded in doing. Attempts to reach agreements have been suspended while the true disagreement seem only just beginning. Nobody knows whether the decision on martial law could have been avoided nor does anyone have the right to pass judgment on it. However, it is clear to everyone that this does not represent the end but the deepening of the existing crisis.

The measures proclaimed by General Jaruzelski will stay in force as long as the army considers it necessary. Everything leads to the conclusion that martial law will last for some time, the trade union will, in all likelihood, not reconcile itself with the sudden assault last night nor will the army and the security forces allow their authority to be called into question. What is unclear, however, is whether the Solidarity trade union leaders, following their latest challenge to the government and the party, have been caught napping and if so, what their answer to the introduction of martial law will be.

General Jaruzelski's decision seems to lead to the conclusion that last night's assault had been prepared for a long time and that all other measures, in the event of an open conflict between the trade union and the army, had been worked out down to the last detail. True enough, a considerable number of trade union leaders have been arrested and nobody believes that the trade union will reconcile itself with the situation which has arisen. In case of a general strike, which was planned before martial law was introduced, the army will do everything possible to neutralize it. General Jaruzelski, judging by everything, is also counting of differentiation in the ranks of workers. The decision on the arrest of Edward Gierek and several members of the former leadership could also contribute to this. The above-mentioned decision can be assessed as a clever move by the army calculated at convincing the Polish public that the decision on introducing martial law does not mean that the course of renewal in the country has been abandoned. In our view there is no other reason for the arrest of former leaders.

The Vatican's reaction and the silence -- at least for the time being -- by Polish Archbishop Glemp represent a kind of enigma. Both the pope's message and the silence by the Polish church's top leaders indicate that the church will not encourage the workers to enter into confrontation with the Military Council of National Salvation.

The further development of the situation in Poland following last night's decision on martial law depends to a great extent on the behavior of extra-Polish factors. Jaruzelski -- and there is no need to doubt it -- will receive the full support of his allies. As regards the West, the first reactions show that nobody has taken the decision to introduce martial law tragically. Jaruzelski has asked for and applied the Polish variant for solving the crisis, with reliance on the allies in the Warsaw Pact but also with the hope that he will not need the help of the allies.

However, should it nevertheless happen that the Polish variant is not sufficient, that is, if the Military Council of National Salvation should find itself in a situation in which it asks for the help of the allies, then this would be a catastrophe both for Poland and for peace in Europe and the world.

What is most essential now is that this should not come about but only as a lession for the future about socialism in Poland -- or anywhere else -- not being saved through confrontation with the working class. The causes which have led up to the present situation in Poland are still present and if no better medicine than martial law is found there is little likelihood that martial law will be of any help.

More on Moscow Reaction

LD132158 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Report by TANJUG correspondent Savo Bosanac from Moscow on Soviet reaction to Polish events]

[Text] Apart from Prime Minister Jaruzelski's speech, no other news has been reported in Moscow on the situation in Poland following the introduction of martial law by late afternoon while we were on the air. During the entire day, Moscow radio in its regular broadcasts for domestic listeners and in foreign languages carried shorter excerpts from the Polish prime minister's speech this morning. Moscow radio has carried three short versions of Jaruzelski's speech transmitted at intervals of several hours by the Soviet agency TASS. In the early evening, however, TASS carried Jaruzelski's speech in full. Due to this the conclusion here is that Moscow is fully backing the measures taken by the Polish leadership.

For the time being there are no other reactions in Moscow to the report on martial law. This report certainly has been received here as top news. For the time being, regarding the forthcoming developments in Poland, no more definite forecasts can be heard here. Observers in Moscow say that much is still uncertain. On the event of the introduction of martial law it has been learned from usually well-informed sources here that it is planned for the top party and state leaders of east European as well as of other socialist countries, the closest Soviet allies, to arrive in Moscow. As learned from circles here they would come to attend the celebration to be held in connection with Leonid Brezhnev's 75th birthday. It is believed that, naturally, these leaders would also discuss Poland. The development of the situation in Poland -- as is explained -- will either confirm or deny these expectations.

TANJUG Summarizes Press

LD132256 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2116 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG) -- (?Our) press in tomorrow's issues reports on the situation in Poland following the introduction of the state of emergency.

The papers carry extensive excerpts from Premier Jaruzelski's address to the nation, underlining his words that a solution to the crisis should be (?seen) in reliance on Poland's own forces.

The dailies report the worldwide reaction to the event and point out that the situation in Poland is being followed very closely in all [word indistinct].

The daily BORBA writes that reports from Warsaw are justifiably giving rise to concern and unease. The paper considers that questions to which only time will provide an answer have now come to the forefront, namely what will follow and whether there is at this point any prospect of a return to the platform of dialogue, trust and accord.

Despite the crisis, one hopes that the Polish people, working class and the Polish United Workers' Party will have sufficient strength to find their own way out of the predicament and continue toward the goal of [word indistinct] have set themselves, BORBA writes.

This goal, the paper underlines, the Poles can reach only alone and without any outside interference.

Polish Envoy, Mijatovic Meet

LD141622 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG) -- Cvijetin Mijatovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, received today Wiktor Kinecki, ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland. At the request of his country's top leadership Kinecki reported on the latest situation in Poland and the efforts being made to resolve existing problems peacefully. Ambassador Kinecki also presented a copy of the speech made by Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski yesterday morning.

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, Cvijetin Mijatovic expressed his thanks for the reports from the Polish leadership. Stressing Yugoslavia's well-known consistent standpoint, Cvijetin Mijatovic expressed the conviction that the friendly Polish people and the Polish leadership themselves will find the most suitable method of a peaceful resolution to their internal affairs, while contributing to the continued development of socialism in their own country and stability in the world.

World Reaction Noted

AU131145 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] We have received reports via TANJUG on the first reaction in the world to the introduction of the state of emergency in Poland. TANJUG reports that this morning Moscow radio carried the news of that event. At the same time the TASS agency carried the same news and pointed out that General Jaruzelski said that the state of emergency has been introduced because anarchy threatened the country and because of the irresponsible behavior of the extremist forces within the Solidarity trade union which, as it is said, have openly moved toward capturing power. The Soviet agency also reports the decision of the Polish authorities on internment of the extremist Solidarity leaders as well as, we quote, members of the illegal antisocialist organizations. It is reported that former leaders Gierek, Jaroszewicz and others have been also interned. The TASS report says that they are responsible for the sociopolitical and economic crisis in Poland. It is also emphasized that Premier Jaruzelski said that Poland would remain an unbreakable link in the socialist community.

All GDR radio stations have carried the news of the introduction of the state of emergency in Poland. Long excerpts from Jaruzelski's speech have been also carried. This morning Prague radio carried a report on Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech and the introduction of the state of emergency in Poland. It is also reported in the same program that in Poland a Military Council of National Salvation has been formed.

TANJUG carries reports by foreign news agencies that American President Reagan has been informed about the developments of events in Poland but that he is not planning to interrupt his weekend which he is spending at Camp David. The first American reaction notes that the Department of State is watching the development of the situation.

We have received a report from Brussels that U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who is scheduled to leave on his tour of some European countries, has decided to postpone his tour for a certain time.

Dean Fisher, representative of the Department of State in Brussels, announced that and added in this connection that Haig intends to make a statement on the events in Poland shortly. We have also received a report from Brussels that NATO is ready to convene an extraordinary meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of member countries of that military organization. According to a UPI report, the heads of diplomatic services of the NATO member countries will arrive in Brussels within 48 hours if it is assumed that the situation in Poland requires that. REUTERS reports from Washington that the U.S. Government has formed a group which will follow the development of the situation in Poland from hour to hour. The statements by some officials of the administration that no signs of any unsusal Soviet military activity have been noticed are carried in the same report.

The reports on the events in Poland have been received in Rome with surprise and concern. There has not been as yet any official reaction of the government or the Vatican circles. It is expected that the pope might say something about that in his regular address to believers at St. Peter's Square this morning.

Warsaw Radio on Martial Law

LD142044 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG) -- Solidarity's stand on the national agreement front idea, set out at its Radom session and the Gdansk consultation, has proved that what Solidarity wants is not agreement but confrontation. The excerpts from Solidarity leaders' speeches broadcast over the radio provoked a shock. These statements were made today in a 40-minute broadcast of radio Warsaw which was monitored by TANJUG. The broadcast entitled "How Did It Come About", represents an attempt to provide the Polish listeners with an answer to the question why it was necessary to impose martial law in the country in the night between last Saturday and Sunday.

The authors of the broadcast recalled the well-known Gdansk agreement between the government and Solidarity and quoted Lech Walesa and Marian Jurczik as promising that the damage caused by strikes would be repaired. The authors also cited the strikes as resulting in a low level of productivity, chaos, lack of self-control in public life and a fall in discipline, as well as strikes without previous attempts to solve problems at hand by regular means. The government incentives to miners were turned down by Solidarity in the name of "professional ethic of the miners" who, being aware of the situation in the country, did not want any additional remuneration the Radio Warsaw broadcast said. This resulted in a drastic fall in coal output.

The broadcast also cited a number of measures taken by the government in order to improve the situation in the country. However, Solidarity turned down, boycotted or hindered these measures by adopting different stands, it said. Solidarity was saying one thing and doing something else, the broadcast noted.

Radio Warsaw said that the demand for establishing the so-called rural Solidarity has been a new problem of all-Polish concern. Solidarity organisation of private farmers was registered resulting in the more frequent sit-in strikes and a failure to improve food supply. It also resulted in attempts to appropriate state and cooperative-owned land, avoidance to pay taxes accompanied with protests, demands for changes in the social and old-age insurance and encouraging farmers against delivering their produce to supply organizations. Rural Solidarity opposes government measures but proposes no other solutions. The broadcast concluded by stating: "We believe in the patriotism, reason, goodwill and responsibility of the ordinary members of Solidarity, i.e. in the possibility and reality of a national understanding as proposed by the party (the Polish United Workers' Party) and supported by a large section of society."